FIFTY YEARS OF EUROPE

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN

Bruce A Hockersmith
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BY THE SAME AUTHOR

EUROPE SINCE 1815

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON

ALSACE-LORRAINE UNDER GERMAN RULE

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY
Publishers New York

EUROPE
in 1912
0 250 500
English Miles.
Greenland
Jan Mayen
Iceland (Den)
Reikiavik
Arctic Circle
Faroe Is (Den)
Shetland Is
Orkney Is
Hebrides
Rockall
Scotland
Edinburgh
Belfast
Ireland
Dublin
Cork
GREAT BRITAIN
Liverpool
Manchester
Birmingham
England
London
St. George Ch.
Southampton
Landsend
English Channel
Channel Is
Brest
Havre
Paris
Nantes
Loire
Bay of Biscay
C. Finisterre
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Pyrenees
Bilbao
Burgos
Ebro
Madrid
Toledo
Valencia
Sarragossa
ANDORRA
Barcelona
Balearic Is.
Palma
Murcia
Granada
Seville
Malaga
Gibraltar (Brit)
Tangier
Str. of Gibraltar
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
C. St. Vincent
Algeciras
Metilla (Sp)
Oran
Algiers
Constantine
Bone
Tunis
Gabes
Tripoli
Wargla
Igli
Mogador
Agadir
Morocco
Fez
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
Bergen
Stavanger
Christiania
Trondhjem
Skagerrack
Cattegat
DENMARK
Copenhagen
Malmö
Helgoland
Amsterdam
The Hague
NETHERLANDS
Bremen
Hanover
Hamburg
Berlin
Magdeb
Leipzig
Dresden
Brussels
BELGIUM
Lille
Luxembourg
Strasburg
Nuremberg
Danube
Munich
Lausanne
Bern
LICHTENST.
SWITZERLD.
Geneva
Lyons
S. Etienne
Mt. Bl.
Turin
Milan
Venice
Trieste
Genoa
Marseilles
Florence
S. MARINO
Corsica
ROME
Tiber
Naples
Mt. Vesuvius
Sardinia
Tyrrhenian Sea
Palermo
Messina
Sicily
Malta (Br)
Adriatic Sea
Apennines
MEDITERR
Tyrrhenian Sea
Lofoden
Norway
Sweden
Finland
Russia
Prague
Vienna
Grazz
Lyon
Rhone
Rhine
Danube
Vistula
Dnieper
Dniester
Ebro
Duero
Tagus
Rhone
Gulf of Lion
Bay of Biscay
Arctic Circle
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OCEAN
Kara Sea
Nova Zembla
Vaigach I.
Jugor Str.
I. Kolguev
Obdorsk
Obi R.
Samarova
SIBERIA
Tobolsk
Irtish
Ural Mts
Petchora R.
C. Kanin
White Sea
Archangel
Mesen R.
Dwina
Onega
Kem
Onega L.
Petrosavodsk
Ludoga L.
St. Petersburg
Perm
Ekaterinburg
Isset R.
Ishim R.
Uralsk
Viatka
Kazan
Volga
Nijni Novgorod
Yaroslaw
Tver
Moscow
Riga
Dunaburg
Dünaburg R.
Smolensk
Tula
Tambo
Simbirsk
Samara
Orenburg
Orsk
Turgai
Kirghiz Steppes
Uralsk
Ural R.
Embensk
Saratov
Kovno
Vilna
Minsk
Orel
Kursk
Kharkov
Don R.
Kiev
Berdichev
Dnieper R.
Sarepta
Volga
Astrakhan
Guriev
Aral
Alexandrovsk
CASPIAN SEA
Czernowitz
Dniester
Fruth
Jassy
Kishinev
Nikolaiev
Odessa
Kherson
Taganrog
Sea of Azov
Stavropol
Mosdok
Crimea
Galatz
Sulina
Sevastopol
BLACK SEA
Tiflis
Kura
Batum
Erivan
Chekishtiar
Asek
Asterabad
Mt. Demavend
Teheran
Ispahan
Bukharest
Danube
Rustchuk
Varna
BULGARIA
Balkan Mts
Philippopolis
Maritza
Adrianople
Constantinople
Bosporus
Erzerum
Aras
Tabriz
Van
Armenia
Kurdistan
Marmora S.
Brussa
Angora
Kaisarieh
Tigris R.
Mosul
Mesopotamia
Bagdad
Euphrates R.
Smyrna
Konieh
Taurus
Adana
Aleppo
Athens
Rhodes
Antakieh
Cyprus (Br.)
Candia
Crete (autonomous)
Beirut
Damascus
Palestina
Syria
Jerusalem
Port Said
Alexandria
Bushire
Persian G.
ARABIA

FIFTY YEARS OF EUROPE

1870-1919

BY

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN

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NEW YORK

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1919

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PREFACE

THE fifty years that have elapsed since the Franco-Prussian War possess a unity that is quite exceptional among the so-called "periods" of history. They constitute a period of German ascendancy in Europe, an ascendancy acquired by force, maintained by force, and dedicated to the perpetuation and the extension of the rule of force—that is, to the great principle that might makes right. Within that era are included the rise and the fall of the German Empire, whose history was summarized in a lapidary phrase pronounced by President Poincaré at the opening of the Conference of Paris: "It was born in injustice; it has ended in opprobrium."

For the convenience of those who may wish to review this period I have brought together those chapters of my *Modern European History* which bear upon it, making, however, numerous changes in the narrative, condensing here, amplifying there, transforming and rearranging wherever it has seemed advantageous.

To complete the story I have added a chapter on the Great War, the closing pages of which were written on the day the armistice was accepted and which therefore represent only the incomplete knowledge and the hurried impressions of a mighty moment in history. However, for that very reason, they may have a certain value, at least as a contemporary document.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
April 10, 1919.

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FIFTY YEARS OF EUROPE

CHAPTER I

THE TRIUMPH OF NATIONALISM IN ITALY AND GERMANY

The year 1870 will long remain memorable in the annals of Europe. For in that year occurred a great and decisive war whose outcome was destined to exercise a large and profound influence upon the history of the subsequent period; whose consequences were to prove pervasive, far-reaching and unhappy, just as the four terrible years through which the world has recently passed will inevitably determine the future of the world for many decades to come. There was a certain tragic unity to that intervening period between the Franco-Prussian War and the World War, the shadow of the former, the dread of the latter hovering over the minds of men, full of menace, inspiring a recurrent sense of uneasiness and alarm. All the various streams of activity, all the different movements, national and international, social and economic, intellectual and spiritual, all the complex and diverse phenomena of the life of Europe during that crowded half-century took their form and color largely from the memory of war, the fear of war, the preparation for war. A period like

that is surely worth studying. Indeed only if men acquire or possess a just understanding of it, only if they retain a vivid sense of its lessons and its warnings, will they be able to avert a repetition of its horrors, only thus will they have the aid of either chart or compass on their voyage into the future.

But apart from this general feeling of insecurity and apprehension, inspired by the Franco-Prussian War, that war had several immediate and specific consequences which must inevitably render the year 1870 notable in the history of modern times and which furnish a proper starting-point for this narrative. The war of 1870 completed the unification of Germany and created the German Empire. It completed, also, the unification of Italy, by giving to the kingdom, as its capital, the incomparable city of Rome. It overthrew the Second Empire in France and produced the Third Republic. It robbed France of Alsace-Lorraine for the benefit of Germany and thus embedded militarism in the life of Europe.

Of course, adequately to understand events of such moment we would be obliged to review the period before 1870, for the founding of the German Empire, of the Italian Kingdom, and of the French Republic was not something hastily improvised in that year as a result of the war. Each of these achievements had a long history behind it; each was the product of a long process of evolution. The year 1870 was only a year of culmination and fruition, the end of one period, the beginning of another.

From such a review as would satisfactorily explain the rise of modern Italy and Germany, their achievement

of nationality after centuries of disunion, we are precluded here. Yet a slight sketch of the history of this remarkable transformation may be of value and, indeed, is necessary if we would have the background essential for the proper appreciation of the later period.

Italy

A century ago Italy was not a body politic; it was only a geographical expression. There was no Italian nation, but there existed within the peninsula ten small and entirely separate states, among which the most important were the Kingdom of Piedmont or Sardinia, the Grand-Duchy of Tuscany, the Papal States, the Kingdom of Naples and the two rich provinces in the north, Lombardy and Venetia, which belonged to Austria. There was no form of political union among these states, not even that of a loose confederation, as in the case of Germany. Consequently, there was no Italian flag, no Italian reigning house, no Italian citizenship, no Italian army. Out of this jumble of petty, independent states arose, in the great decade between 1859 and 1870, the present unified Kingdom of Italy.

All through the nineteenth century there were those who felt that these millions of Italians ought to be united into a single nation, that only thus could they occupy a position in the world worthy of their past, and one that would ensure a happier future. The most thrilling and persuasive spokesman of this national aspiration was Joseph Mazzini, who lived from 1805 to 1872. Even as a boy Mazzini was impressed with the unhappiness and misery of his country, subdivided, as

it was, into numerous jealous and warring states. "In the midst of the noisy, tumultuous life of the students around me I was," he says in his autobiography, "somber and absorbed and appeared like one suddenly grown old. I childishly determined to dress always in black, fancying myself in mourning for my country." At the age of twenty-five Mazzini was thrown into prison because of his liberalism. After his release from prison, he founded a society called "Young Italy" which was destined to be an important factor in making the new Italy. Its object was to create, by persuasion and by action, a single country, common to all. Only those under forty were to be admitted to membership, because Mazzini's appeal was particularly to the young. "Place youth at the head of the insurgent multitude," he said; "you know not the secret of the power hidden in these youthful hearts, nor the magic influence exercised on the masses by the voice of youth. You will find among the young a host of apostles of the new religion." With Mazzini the liberation and unification of Italy was indeed a new religion, appealing to the loftiest emotions, entailing complete self-sacrifice, complete absorption in the ideal, and the young were to be its apostles. Theirs was to be a missionary life. He told them to travel, to bear from land to land, from village to village, the torch of liberty, to expound its advantages to the people, to establish and consecrate the cult. Let them not quail before the horrors of torture and imprisonment that might await them in the holy cause. "Ideas grow quickly when watered with the blood of martyrs." Never did a cause have a more dauntless leader, a man of purity of life, a man of imagination, of poetry, of audacity,

gifted, moreover, with a marvelous command of persuasive language and with burning enthusiasm in his heart. The response was overwhelming. By 1833 the society reckoned 60,000 members. Branches were founded everywhere. Garibaldi, whose name men were later to conjure with, joined it on the shores of the Black Sea. This is the romantic proselyting movement of the nineteenth century, all the more remarkable from the fact that its members were unknown men, bringing to their work no advantage of wealth or social position. But, as their leader wrote later, "All great national movements begin with the unknown men of the people, without influence except for the faith and will that counts not time or difficulties."

Mazzini believed that the first thing to do in bringing about the unification of Italy was to drive Austria out of the country. Austrians were foreigners; yet they held the two richest provinces in the peninsula, Lombardy and Venetia, and so great were their resources and their power that they dominated, more or less directly, the other states. Only if they were expelled could the Italians unite and control their own destinies. They could be driven out only by war, and Mazzini believed that the Italians were numerous enough and brave enough to carry through, alone and unaided, this necessary work of liberation. After the war should succeed, Mazzini hoped and urged that Italy should be proclaimed a republic, one and indivisible. Mazzini worked at a great disadvantage, as he was early expelled from his own country and was compelled to spend nearly all his lifetime as an exile in London, hampered by paltry resources, and cut off from that intimate association with

his own people which is so essential to effective leadership.

Italy was not made as Mazzini wished it to be; nevertheless is he one of the chief of the makers of Italy. He and the society he founded constituted a leavening, quickening force in the realm of ideas. Around them grew up a patriotism for a country that existed as yet only in the imagination.

Italy was made by a man who was of an utterly different type from Mazzini, Count Camillo di Cavour, one of the greatest statesmen and diplomatists in the nineteenth century. Cavour's mind was the opposite of Mazzini's, practical, positive, not poetical and speculative. He desired the unity and the independence of Italy. He hated Austria as the oppressor of his country, as an oppressor everywhere. But, unlike Mazzini, he did not underestimate her power, nor did he overestimate the power of his own countrymen. Cavour believed, as did all the patriots, that Austria must be driven out of Italy before any Italian regeneration could be achieved. But he did not believe with Mazzini and others that the Italians could accomplish this feat alone. In his opinion the history of the last forty years had shown that plots and insurrections would not avail. It was essential to win the aid of a great military power comparable in strength and discipline to Austria.

Cavour was a thoroughgoing liberal in all his convictions and principles. He was a great admirer of the political institutions of England, which he desired to see introduced into his own country. Night after night he had sat in the gallery of the House of Commons, seeking to make himself thoroughly familiar with its modes of

procedure. If he was to study parliamentary institutions anywhere, it must be abroad, for in none of the states in Italy was there even a semblance of a parliament. Cavour demanded a parliament for his own state, the Kingdom of Piedmont. "Italy," he said, "must make herself by means of liberty, or we must give up trying to make her."

Now in 1848 the Kingdom of Piedmont did become a parliamentary and constitutional state. Previously the king had ruled as autocrat; henceforth he was to share his power with his people. This gave Cavour his opportunity. He was elected to the first Piedmontese parliament, was taken into the cabinet in 1850, and became prime minister in 1852. He held this position for the remainder of his life, with the exception of a few weeks, proving himself a great statesman and an incomparable diplomat.

Cavour considered that the only possible leader in the work of freeing and unifying Italy was the House of Savoy and the Piedmontese monarchy, and he felt that the proper government of the new state, if it should ever arise, would be a constitutional monarchy. He wished to make Piedmont a model state so that, when the time came, the Italians of other states would recognize her leadership and join in her exaltation as best for them all. Piedmont had a constitution and the other states had not. Cavour saw to it that she had a free political life and received a genuine training in self-government. Also he bent every energy to the development of the economic resources of the kingdom, by encouraging manufactures, by stimulating commerce, by modernizing agriculture, by building railroads. In a word he sought

to make and did make Piedmont a model small state, liberal and progressive, hoping thus to win for her the Italians of the other states and the interest and approval of the countries and rulers of western Europe.

The fundamental purpose, the constant preoccupation of this man's life, determining every action, prompting every wish, was to gain a Great Power as an ally. In the pursuit of this elusive and supremely difficult object, year in, year out, Cavour displayed his measure as a diplomat, and stood forth finally without a peer. It is a marvelously absorbing story, from which we are precluded here because it cannot be properly presented except at length. The reader must go elsewhere for the details of this fascinating record, in which were combined, in rare harmony, sound judgment, practical sense, powers of clear, subtle, penetrating thought, unfailing attention to prosaic details, with imagination, audacity, courage, and iron nerve.

Cavour's purpose was to unite Italy. Italy could not be united unless Austria were driven out. Austria could not be driven out except by war, and in a war Austria's military power would be far greater than that of Piedmont. Piedmont must, therefore, have an ally whose military power would be equal to that of Austria. As France was the only other great military power on the Continent, Cavour sought to win the support of the ruler of that country, Napoleon III. He succeeded in 1858 and Napoleon promised to help Piedmont expel Austria from Italy, and to free Italy "from the Alps to the Adriatic." This was the greatest triumph of Cavour's life, as it rendered everything else possible.

Thus in 1859 there came about a war between Austria

on the one hand and Piedmont and France on the other. The latter were victorious in two great battles, that of Magenta (June 4) and of Solferino (June 24). Solferino was one of the greatest battles of the nineteenth century. It lasted eleven hours, more than 260,000 men were engaged, nearly 800 cannon. The Allies lost over 17,000 men, the Austrians about 22,000. All Lombardy was conquered, and Milan was occupied. It seemed that Venetia could be easily overrun and the termination of Austrian rule in Italy effected, and Napoleon's statement that he would free Italy "from the Alps to the Adriatic" accomplished. Suddenly Napoleon halted in the full tide of success, sought an interview with the Emperor of Austria at Villafranca, and there on July 11, without consulting the wishes of his ally, concluded a famous armistice. The terms agreed upon by the two Emperors were: that Lombardy should pass to Piedmont, that Austria should retain Venetia, that the Italian states should form a confederation, that the rulers of Tuscany and Modena should be restored to their states, whence they had just been driven by popular uprisings.

This was not what Cavour and the Italian liberals wanted. They wished to be entirely free of Austrian influence, they wished the unity of Italy and not a confederation of small Italian states, they did not desire or intend to restore the petty princes they had overthrown, they wished the extension of the rule of the House of Savoy over the entire peninsula. All that Napoleon had done had been to secure Lombardy for Piedmont, an important service, yet far below what he had promised.

But the future of Italy was not to be determined

solely by the Emperor of France and the Emperor of Austria. The people of Italy had their own ideas and were resolved to make them heard. During the war, so suddenly and unexpectedly closed, the rulers of Modena, Parma, Tuscany had been overthrown by popular uprisings and the Pope's authority in Romagna, the northern part of his dominions, had been destroyed. The people who had accomplished this had no intention of restoring the princes they had expelled. They defied the two emperors who had decided at Villafranca that those rulers should be restored. In this they were supported diplomatically by the English Government. This was England's great service to the Italians. "The people of the duchies have as much right to change their sovereigns," said Lord Palmerston, "as the English people, or the French, or the Belgian, or the Swedish. The annexation of the duchies to Piedmont will be an unfathomable good to Italy." The people of these states voted almost unanimously in favor of annexation (March 11-12, 1860). Victor Emmanuel, King of Piedmont, accepted the sovereignty thus offered him, and on April 2, 1860, the first parliament of the enlarged kingdom met in Turin. A small state of less than 5,000,000 had grown to one of 11,000,000 within a year. This was the most important change in the political system of Europe since 1815.

Napoleon III acquiesced in all this, taking for himself Savoy and Nice in return for services rendered. The Peace of Villafranca was never enforced.

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE
THE UNIFICATION OF
ITALY

Scale of English Miles
0 20 40 60 80 100

REFERENCE

- I — Aquired by Sardinia, by Treaty of Zurich, Nov. 10th 1859.
- II — Annexation to Sardinia, voted by Plebiscites, Mar. 11, & 12, 1860.
- III — Annexation to Sardinia, voted by Plebiscites, Nov. 4, & 5, 1860.
- IV — Annexation to Sardinia, voted by Plebiscites, Oct. 21st, 1860
- V — Annexation to Kingdom of Italy, Voted by Plebiscites, Oct. 21, & 22, 1866.
- VI — Annexation to Kingdom of Italy, Voted by Plebiscite, Oct. 2, 1870.
- VII — Ceded to France, March, 1860.
- VIII — Ceded to France, March, 1860.

14
16
18
20
46
44
42
40
38
Laibach
Carniola
Triest
Istria
Fiume
Pola
Agram
Drave R.
Croatia
Save R.
Brod
Belgrade
Zara
Dalmatia
Bosna Serai
Sebenico
Spalato
Lissa
Ancona
Castelfidardo
Ascoli
Pescara
Abruzzi
Ragusa
Montenegro
Cetigne
Cattaro
Budua
Scutari
Adriatic Sea
Molise
Foggia
Pontecorvo
Gaeta
Capua
Caserta
Benevento
Volturno
NAPLES
Nola
Vesuvius
Ischia
Capri
Salerno
Bari
Durazzo
Brindisi
Taranto
Avlona
Otranto
Basilicata
Corfu
Castrovillari
Paola
Cosenza
Calabria
Ionian Sea
Monteleone
Nicotera
Messina
Milazzo
Aspromonte
Reggio
Lipari Ids
PALERMO
Termini
Corleone
Etna
Taormina
Catania
Syracuse
Noto
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES

The Conquest of the Kingdom of Naples

Much had been achieved in the eventful year just described, but much remained to be achieved before the unification of Italy should be complete. Venetia, the larger part of the Papal States, and the Kingdom of Naples still stood outside. In the last, however, events now occurred which carried the process a long step forward. Early in 1860 the Sicilians rose in revolt against the despotism of their new king, Francis II. This insurrection created an opportunity for a man already famous but destined to fame far greater and to a memorable service to his country, Giuseppe Garibaldi, already the most popular military leader in Italy, and invested with a half-mythical character of invincibility and daring, the result of a very spectacular, romantic career.

Garibaldi was born at Nice in 1807. He was therefore two years younger than Mazzini and three years older than Cavour. Destined by his parents for the priesthood he preferred the sea, and for many years he lived a roving and adventurous sailor's life. He early joined "Young Italy." His military experience was chiefly in irregular, guerrilla fighting. He took part in the unsuccessful insurrection organized by Mazzini in Savoy in 1834, and as a result was condemned to death. He managed to escape to South America, where, for the next fourteen years, he was an exile. He participated in the abundant wars of the South American states with the famous "Italian Legion," which he organized and commanded. Learning of the uprising of 1848 he returned to Italy, though still under the penalty of death,

and immediately thousands flocked to the standard of the "hero of Montevideo" to fight under him against the Austrians. After the failure of that campaign he went, in 1849, to Rome to assume the military defense of the republic. When the city was about to fall he escaped with four thousand troops, intending to attack the Austrian power in Venetia. French and Austrian armies pursued him. He succeeded in evading them, but his army dwindled away rapidly and the chase became so hot that he was forced to escape to the Adriatic. When he landed later, his enemies were immediately in full cry again, hunting him through forests and over mountains as if he were some dangerous game. It was a wonderful exploit, rendered tragic by the death, in a farmhouse near Ravenna, of his wife Anita, who was his companion in the camp as in the home, and who was as high-spirited, as daring, as courageous as he. Garibaldi finally escaped to America and began once more the life of an exile. But his story, shot through and through with heroism and chivalry and romance, moved the Italian people to unwonted depths of enthusiasm and admiration.

For several years Garibaldi was a wanderer, sailing the seas, commander of a Peruvian bark. For some months, indeed, he was a candle maker on Staten Island, but in 1854 he returned to Italy and settled down as a farmer on the little island of Caprera. But the events of 1859 once more brought him out of his retirement. Again, as a leader of volunteers, he plunged into the war against Austria and immensely increased his reputation. He had become the idol of soldiers and adventurous spirits from one end of Italy to the other. Multitudes

were ready to follow in blind confidence wherever he might lead. His name was one to conjure with. There now occurred, in 1860, the most brilliant episode of his career, the Sicilian expedition and the campaign against the Kingdom of Naples. For Garibaldi, the most redoubtable warrior of Italy, whose very name was worth an army, now decided on his own account to go to the aid of the Sicilians who had risen in revolt against their king, Francis II of Naples.

On May 5, 1860, the expedition of "The Thousand," the "Red Shirts," embarked from Genoa in two steamers. These were the volunteers, nearly 1,150 men, whom Garibaldi's fame had caused to rush into the new adventure, an adventure that seemed at the moment one of utter folly. The King of Naples had 24,000 troops in Sicily and 100,000 more on the mainland. The odds against success seemed overwhelming. But fortune favored the brave. After a campaign of a few weeks, in which he was several times in great danger, and was only saved by the most reckless fighting, Garibaldi stood master of the island, helped by the Sicilian insurgents, by volunteers who had flocked from the mainland, and by the incompetency of the commanders of the Neapolitan troops. Audacity had won the victory. He assumed the position of Dictator in Sicily in the name of Victor Emmanuel II (August 5, 1860).

Garibaldi now crossed the straits to the mainland determined to conquer the entire Kingdom of Naples (August 19, 1860). The King still had an army of 100,000 men, but it had not even the strength of a frail reed. There was practically no bloodshed. The Neapolitan Kingdom was not overthrown; it collapsed.

Treachery, desertion, corruption did the work. On September 6, Francis II left Naples for Gaeta and the next day Garibaldi entered it by rail with only a few attendants, and drove through the streets amid a pandemonium of enthusiasm. In less than five months he had conquered a kingdom of 11,000,000 people, an achievement unique in modern history.

Garibaldi now began to talk of pushing on to Rome. To Cavour, the situation seemed full of danger. Garibaldi, a tempestuous soldier himself and a leader of tempestuous soldiers, was totally lacking in the qualities of a statesman. To him everything was a matter for action, immediate action, and he had no conception of the extraordinary complexity and delicacy of international relations. Should he now attack Rome, all that had been achieved in this wonderful year would be imperiled. For Rome was the center of Roman Catholicism, the seat of the Pope's temporal dominions, and the Pope's power was supported by a French garrison. Napoleon III felt bound, in view of the strong Catholic sentiment of his countrymen, to continue to support that power. A clash with him must, by all means, be avoided, and Garibaldi was heading straight toward such a clash. Here was an adjustment that might be made by diplomacy; it could not be made by the sword.

Cavour, therefore, resolved to block any further activity of Garibaldi. He secured the assent of Napoleon III to the annexation by Victor Emmanuel of the outlying sections of the Papal States, the Marches, and Umbria, promising in turn not to touch the city of Rome and the territory immediately surrounding it. This be-

ing arranged, Victor Emmanuel marched southward, took the leadership from Garibaldi and completed the conquest of the Kingdom of Naples, not quite finished by the latter. Thereupon referendums were held in the Marches, Umbria, and the Kingdom of Naples, resulting overwhelmingly in favor of annexation to the new Kingdom of Italy.

On the 18th of February, 1861, a new Parliament, representing all Italy except Venetia and Rome, met in Turin. The Kingdom of Sardinia now gave way to the Kingdom of Italy, proclaimed on March 17. Victor Emmanuel II was declared "by the grace of God and the will of the nation, King of Italy."

A new kingdom, comprising a population of about twenty-two millions, had arisen during a period of eighteen months, and now took its place among the powers of Europe. But the Kingdom of Italy was still incomplete. Venetia was still Austrian and Rome was still subject to the Pope. The acquisition of these had to be postponed.

Nevertheless, Cavour felt that "without Rome there was no Italy," and he was working on a scheme which he hoped might reconcile the Pope and the Catholic world everywhere to the recognition of Rome as the capital of the new kingdom, when he suddenly fell ill and died on June 6, 1861.

Throughout his life Cavour remained faithful to his fundamental political principle, government by parliament and by constitutional forms. Urged at various times to assume a dictatorship he replied that he had no confidence in dictatorships. "I always feel strongest," he said, "when Parliament is sitting." "I cannot betray

my origin, deny the principles of all my life," he wrote in a private letter not intended for the public. "I am the son of liberty and to her I owe all that I am. If a veil is to be placed on her statue, it is not for me to do it."

Germany

From 1815 to 1866 there were between thirty and forty independent German states, united in a very loose and ineffective confederation. There was no German nation, as we understand the term. There was no king or emperor of Germany. There was no German flag. No one was, properly speaking, a German citizen. He was a Prussian, or Austrian, or Bavarian or Saxon citizen, as the case might be. The federal government had no diplomatic representatives in the other countries of Europe, but each state had, or could have, its own diplomatic corps. The German as German had no legal standing abroad—only as a citizen of one of the separate states. Each state could make alliances with the others or with non-German states.

All this was changed during the years from 1866 to 1871. German liberals and patriots had long been discontented with this loose and weak confederation, which was a mockery of a nation, and had long desired to achieve that unity and strength which France and England had achieved much earlier. This feeling of dissatisfaction, and this passionate aspiration, had, for decades, been expressed by many men and on many occasions. In 1848, a year of revolution for Germany, an earnest attempt had been made to achieve German unity, to create a strong German state. But the attempt had

failed. Nearly twenty years later the attempt was renewed, but under very different auspices. In 1848 it had been the liberals who had tried to achieve German unity, by persuasion, by argument, by democratic methods, and in the interest of democracy. In 1866 leadership rested with Bismarck, who hated democracy, who hated constitutions, who admired absolute monarchy, the House of Hohenzollern and the Kingdom of Prussia. Indeed, Bismarck's political ideas centered in his ardent belief in the Prussian monarchy. It had been the Prussian kings, he said, not the Prussian people, who had made Prussia great. This, the great historic fact, must be preserved, whatever else might be changed in the course of time. What Prussian kings had done, they still would do. Any reduction of royal power would only be damaging to the state. Bismarck was the uncompromising foe of the attempts made in 1848 to achieve German unity, because he thought that it should be the princes and not the people who should determine the institutions and destinies of Germany. "I look for Prussian honor in Prussia's abstinence before all things from every shameful union with democracy," was one of his famous phrases. And another was this: "Not by speeches and majority votes are the great questions of the day decided—that was the great blunder of 1848 and 1849—but by blood and iron"; in other words, the army, not parliament, would determine the future of Prussia.

This "blood and iron" policy was bitterly denounced by liberals, but Bismarck ignored their criticisms and soon found a chance to begin its application. He became the chief minister of King William I in 1862 and was destined to remain the chief minister for nearly thirty years,

until he was dismissed in 1890 by William II. During that time he increased the territory of Prussia and remodeled Germany, making her a powerful empire and the center of the European state system.

Bismarck's political views were entirely sympathetic to King William I, who likewise believed that the monarch and the army should control and shape the destinies of Prussia and of Germany. William I himself wrote, in 1849, that "whoever wishes to rule Germany must conquer it, and that cannot be done by phrases."

The German Empire was the result of the policy of blood and iron as carried out by Prussia in three wars which were crowded into the brief period of six years, the war with Denmark in 1864, with Austria in 1866, and with France in 1870, each one of which was desired and provoked by Bismarck.

In the first war Prussia and Austria combined and attacked Denmark after having given her an ultimatum allowing her only forty-eight hours to comply with their demands, which, indeed, they did not expect or intend that she should accept. The two great powers easily defeated the one small one and then they took from her the two provinces of Schleswig and Holstein, which they forthwith proceeded to hold in common.

This situation was one that exactly suited Bismarck, for he wanted a quarrel with Austria and a quarrel can easily be brought about between two robbers over the question as to how they are to dispose of their spoils. Bismarck had for ten years desired a war with Austria because in the German Confederation Austria was the leading power and Bismarck wished that position for Prussia. He also wished German unity, but he wished

it to be achieved by Prussia and for Prussia's advantage. This could not be done as long as Austria remained connected with the other German states. In Bismarck's opinion there was not room enough in Germany for both powers. That being the case, he wished the room for Prussia. The only way to get it was to take it. As Austria had no intention of yielding gracefully there would have to be a fight.

Finally war broke out in June, 1866. Bismarck had thus brought about his dream of a conflict between peoples of the same race to determine the question of control. It proved to be one of the shortest wars in history, one of the most decisive, and one whose consequences were most momentous. It is called the Seven Weeks' War. It began June 16, 1866, was virtually decided on July 3d, was brought to a close before the end of that month by the preliminary Peace of Nikolsburg, July 26, which was followed a month later by the definitive Peace of Prague, August 23. Prussia had no German allies of any importance. Several of the North German states sided with her, but these were small and their armies were unimportant. On the other hand, Austria was supported by the four kingdoms, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Saxony, and Hanover; also by Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Darmstadt, Nassau, and Baden. But Prussia had one important ally, Italy, without whose aid she might not have won the victory. Italy was to receive Venetia, which she coveted, if Austria were defeated. The Prussian army, however, was better prepared. For years the rulers of Prussia had been preparing for war, perfecting the army down to the minutest detail, and with scientific thoroughness, and when the war began it was absolutely ready.

Moreover, it was directed by a very able leader, General von Moltke.

Prussia had many enemies. Being absolutely prepared, as her enemies were not, she could assume the offensive, and this was the cause of her first victories. War began June 16. Within three days Prussian troops had occupied Hanover, Dresden, and Cassel, the capitals of her three North German enemies. A few days later the Hanoverian army was forced to capitulate. The King of Hanover and the Elector of Hesse were taken prisoners of war. All North Germany was now controlled by Prussia, and within two weeks of the opening of the war she was ready to attempt the great plan of Moltke, an invasion of Bohemia. The rapidity of the campaign struck Europe with amazement. Moltke sent three armies by different routes into Bohemia, and on July 3, 1866, one of the great battles of history, that of Königgrätz, or Sadowa, was fought. Each army numbered over 200,000, the Prussians outnumbering the Austrians, though not at the beginning. Since the battle of Leipsic in 1813, so many troops had not been engaged in a single conflict. King William, Bismarck, and Moltke took up their position on a hill, whence they could view the scene. The battle was long and doubtful. Beginning early in the morning, it continued for hours, fought with terrific fury, the Prussians making no advance against the Austrian artillery. Up to two o'clock it seemed an Austrian victory, but with the arrival of the Prussian Crown Prince with his army the issue was turned, and at half-past three the Austrians were beaten and their retreat began. They had lost over forty thousand men, while the Prussian loss was about ten thousand. The Prussian army during

the next three weeks advanced to within sight of the spires of Vienna.

On June 24 the Austrians had been victorious over the Italians at Custozza. Yet the Italians had helped Prussia by detaining eighty thousand Austrian troops, which, had they been at Königgrätz, would probably have turned the day. The Italian fleet was also defeated by the Austrian at Lissa, July 20.

The results of the Seven Weeks' War were momentous. Fearing the intervention of Europe, and particularly that of France, which was threatened, and which might rob the victory of its fruits, Bismarck wished to make peace at once, and consequently offered lenient terms to Austria. She was to cede Venetia to Italy, but was to lose no other territory. She was to withdraw from the German Confederation, which, indeed, was to cease to exist. She was to allow Prussia to organize and lead a new confederation, composed of those states which were north of the river Main. The South German states were left free to act as they chose. Thus Germany, north of the Main, was to be united.

Having accomplished this, Prussia proceeded to make important annexations to her own territory. The Kingdom of Hanover, the Duchies of Nassau and Hesse-Cassel, and the free city of Frankfort, as well as the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, were incorporated in the Prussian kingdom. Her population was thereby increased by over four and a half million new subjects, and thus was about twenty-four million. There was no thought of having the people of these states vote on the question of annexation, as had been done in Italy, and in Savoy and Nice. They were annexed forthwith by

right of military conquest. Reigning houses ceased to rule on order from Berlin. Unwisely for themselves European nations allowed the swift consummation of these changes, which altered the balance of power and the map of Europe—a mistake which France in particular was to repent most bitterly. "I do not like this dethronement of dynasties," said the Czar, but he failed to express his dislike in action.

The North German Confederation, which was now created, included all of Germany north of the river Main, twenty-two states in all. The constitution was the work of Bismarck. There was to be a president of the Confederation, namely, the King of Prussia. There was to be a Federal Council (Bundesrath), composed of delegates sent by the sovereigns of the different states, to be recalled at their pleasure, to vote as they dictated. Prussia was always to have seventeen votes out of the total forty-three. In order to have a majority she would have to gain only a few adherents from the other states, which she could easily do.

There was also to be a Reichstag, elected by the people. This was Bismarck's concession to the Liberals. Of the two bodies the Reichstag was much the less important. The people were given a place in the new system, but a subordinate one.

The new constitution went into force July 1, 1867. This North German Confederation remained in existence only four years when it gave way to the present German Empire, one of the results of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870.

CHAPTER II

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

By the year 1867 all of Italy was united into a kingdom under the House of Savoy, except the city of Rome and the region immediately surrounding it, and all of Germany was united into a strong confederation, under the leadership of the House of Hohenzollern, except the South German states, Bavaria, Baden, Würtemberg, and a part of Hesse-Darmstadt. The unification, however, of neither country could be considered complete until these detached parts were joined with the main mass. This was brought about as one of the incidents of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. Some knowledge of that war, therefore, is necessary to a comprehension of the subsequent period. Another by-product of that war was the Third French Republic, a fact in contemporary Europe of large significance. How did the clash come about between France and Prussia, a clash that had such consequences?

France, since 1852, had been an empire, ruled over by the Emperor Napoleon III, nephew of the great Napoleon. The Emperor played a large rôle in European politics from 1852 to 1870. His government was as much of an imitation of the system of Napoleon I as the nature of the times and the character of the ruler would allow. During most of the period the government was auto-

cratic; only toward the end was it somewhat liberalized. In the main it was the personality of the monarch that counted, and that shaped the course of events. While there were occasional elections and a national legislature, and while universal suffrage nominally existed, in practice the legislature was controlled by the Emperor, universal suffrage was cleverly manipulated, the Emperor was, in large measure, an absolute sovereign. France experienced a great economic expansion during this reign and grew in wealth. The chief feature of the reign was the Emperor's foreign policy, which led to several wars. One of these contributed, as we have seen, to the making of the Kingdom of Italy. Another, the Franco-German war of 1870, brought the Empire to an abrupt and catastrophic close.

The war of 1866 between Prussia and Austria, a war in which France did not participate, exerted a most unfortunate influence upon the public opinion of France and upon the prestige of the French Emperor. That war had resulted in greatly increasing the territory of Prussia, in expelling Austria from Germany, in founding a strong state, east of France, the North German Confederation. This swift rise of Prussia to a position she had never held before, this sweeping reorganization of Central Europe, created a widespread feeling of apprehension and alarm throughout France. Frenchmen felt that the balance of power was upset, that France was no longer safe as she had been, now that she had, on her eastern border, a strong, successful, aggressive military state. Frenchmen thought that Napoleon III could have and should have prevented this change, so full of possible menace. As he had not done so, as the new sit-

uation had come to pass with the Emperor merely standing by, a spectator and not an active and effective participant, Napoleon's popularity was greatly decreased and confidence in his wisdom and foresight was greatly diminished. He might, at least, have seized the occasion of the crisis of 1866 to gain some unmistakable compensation for France, which would have kept the balance even.

This feeling of anxiety and of indignation which spread through France after 1866 was crystalized in the phrase "Revenge for Sadowa," Sadowa being the name by which the decisive battle of Königgrätz was known to Frenchmen. The meaning of the phrase was that, if one state, like Prussia, should be increased in area and power, France also, for consenting to it, had a right to a proportionate increase, that thus the reciprocal relations might remain the same. But the golden moment for demanding this had been allowed carelessly, imprudently to slip by. And golden moments ought not to be neglected, for they have a way of not returning.

From 1866 to 1870 the idea that ultimately a war would come between Prussia and France became familiar to the people and governments of both countries. Many Frenchmen desired "revenge for Sadowa." Prussians were proud and elated at their two successful wars, and intensely conscious of their new position in Europe. The newspapers of both countries during the next four years were full of crimination and recrimination, of abuse and taunt, the Government in neither case greatly discouraging their unwise conduct, at times even inspiring and directing it. Such an atmosphere was an excellent one for ministers who wanted war to work in, and both France and Prussia had just such ministers. Bismarck

believed such a war inevitable, and, in his opinion, it was desirable as the only way of completing the unification of Germany, since Napoleon would never willingly consent to the extension of the Confederation to include the South German states. All that he desired was that it should come at precisely the right moment, when Prussia was entirely ready, and that it should come by act of France, so that Prussia could pose before Europe as merely defending herself against a wanton aggressor.

With responsible statesmen in such a temper it was not difficult to bring about a war. And yet the Franco-Prussian War broke most unexpectedly, like a thunderstorm, over Europe. Undreamed of July 1, 1870, it began July 15. It came in a roundabout way. The Spanish throne was vacant, as a revolution had driven the monarch, Queen Isabella, out of that country. On July 2, news reached Paris that Leopold of Hohenzollern, a relative of the King of Prussia, had accepted the Spanish crown. Bismarck was behind this Hohenzollern candidacy, zealously furthering it, despite the fact that he knew Napoleon's feeling of hostility to it. Great was the indignation of the French papers and parliament and a most dangerous crisis developed rapidly. Other powers intervened, laboring in the interests of peace. On July 12, it was announced that the Hohenzollern candidacy was withdrawn.

The tension was immediately relieved; the war scare was over. Two men, however, were not pleased by this outcome, Bismarck, whose intrigue was now foiled and whose humiliation was so great that he thought he must resign and retire into private life, and Gramont, the French minister of foreign affairs, a reckless, bluster-

ing politician who was not satisfied with the diplomatic victory he had won, but wished to win another which would increase the discomfiture of Prussia. The French ministry now made an additional demand that the King of Prussia should promise that this Hohenzollern candidacy should never be renewed. The King declined to do so and, in a despatch from Ems, authorized Bismarck to publish an account of the incident. Here was Bismarck's opportunity which he used ruthlessly and joyously to provoke the French to declare war. His account, as he himself says, was intended to be "a red flag for the Gallic bull." The effect of its publication was instantaneous. It aroused the indignation of both countries to fever heat. The Prussians thought that their King, the French that their ambassador had been insulted. As if this were not sufficient the newspapers of both countries teemed with false, abusive, and inflammatory accounts. The voice of the advocates of peace was drowned in the general clamor. The head of the French ministry declared that he accepted this war "with a light heart." This war, declared by France on July 15, grew directly out of mere diplomatic fencing. The French people did not desire it, only the people of Paris, inflamed by an official press. Indeed, until it was declared, the French people hardly knew of the matter of dispute. It came upon them unexpectedly. The war was made by the responsible heads of two Governments. It was in its origin in no sense national in either country. Its immediate occasion was trivial. But it was the cause of a remarkable display of patriotism in both countries.

The war upon which the French ministry entered with

so light a heart was destined to prove the most disastrous in the history of their country. In every respect it was begun under singularly inauspicious circumstances. France declared war upon Prussia alone, but in a manner that threw the South German states, upon whose support she had counted, directly into the camp of Bismarck. They regarded the French demand, that the King of Prussia should pledge himself for all time to forbid the Prince of Hohenzollern's candidature, as unnecessary and insulting. At once Bavaria and Baden and Würtemberg joined the campaign on the side of Prussia.

The French military authorities made the serious mistake of grossly underestimating the difficulty of the task before them. Incredible lack of preparation was revealed at once. The French army was poorly equipped, and was far inferior in numbers and in the ability of its commanders to the Prussian army. With the exception of a few ineffectual successes the war was a long series of reverses for the French. The Germans crossed the Rhine into Alsace and Lorraine, and succeeded, after several days of very heavy fighting, in shutting up Bazaine, with the principal French army, in Metz, a strong fortress which the Germans than besieged.

On September 1, another French army, with which was the Emperor, was defeated at Sedan and was obliged on the following day to surrender to the Germans. Napoleon himself became a prisoner of war. The French lost, on these two days, in killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, nearly one hundred and twenty thousand men.

Disasters so appalling resounded throughout the world. France no longer had an army; one had capitulated at Sedan; the other was locked up in Metz. The early de-

feats of August had been announced in Paris by the Government as victories. The deception could no longer be maintained. On September 3 this despatch was received from the Emperor: "The army has been defeated and is captive; I myself am a prisoner." As a prisoner he was no longer head of the government of France; there was, as Thiers said, a "vacancy of power." On Sunday, September 4, the Legislative Body was convened. But it had no time to deliberate. The mob invaded the hall shouting, "Down with the Empire! Long live the Republic!" Gambetta, Jules Favre, and Jules Ferry, followed by the crowd, proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville and there proclaimed the Republic. The Empress fled. A Government of National Defense was organized, with General Trochu at its head, which was the actual government of France during the rest of the war.

The Franco-German War lasted about six months, from the first of August, 1870, when fighting began, to about the first of February, 1871. It falls naturally into two periods, the imperial and the republican. During the first, which was limited to the month of August, the regular armies were, as we have seen, destroyed or bottled up. Then the Empire collapsed and the Emperor was a prisoner in Germany. The second period lasted five months. France, under the Government of National Defense, made a remarkably courageous and spirited defense under the most discouraging conditions.

The Germans, leaving a sufficient army to carry on the siege of Metz, advanced toward Paris. They began the siege of that city on September 19. This siege, one of the most famous in history, lasted four months, and astonished Europe. Immense stores had been collected

in the city, the citizens were armed, and the defense was energetic. The Parisians hoped to hold out long enough to enable new armies to be organized and diplomacy possibly to intervene. To accomplish the former a delegation from the Government of National Defense, headed by Gambetta, escaped from Paris by balloon, and established a branch seat of government first at Tours, then at Bordeaux. Gambetta, by his immense energy, his eloquence, his patriotism, was able to raise new armies, whose resistance astonished the Germans, but as they had not time to be thoroughly trained, they were unsuccessful. They could not break the immense circle of iron that surrounded Paris. After the overthrow of the Empire the war was reduced to the siege of Paris and the attempts of these improvised armies to break that siege. These attempts were rendered all the more hopeless by the fall of Metz (October 27, 1870). Six thousand officers and 173,000 men were forced by impending starvation to surrender, with hundreds of cannon and immense war supplies, the greatest capitulation "recorded in the history of civilized nations." A month earlier, on September 27, Strasburg had surrendered and 19,000 soldiers had become prisoners of war.

The capitulation of Metz was particularly disastrous, because it made possible the sending of more German armies to reënforce the siege of Paris, and to attack the forces which Gambetta was, by prodigies of effort, creating in the rest of France. These armies could not get to the relief of Paris, nor could the troops within Paris break through to them. The siege became simply a question of endurance.

The Germans began the bombardment of the city early

in January. Certain sections suffered terribly, and were ravaged by fires. Famine stared the Parisians in the face. After November 20 there was no more beef or lamb to be had; after December 15 only thirty grams of horse meat a day per person, which, moreover, cost about two dollars and a half a pound; after January 15 the amount of bread, a wretched stuff, was reduced to three hundred grams. People ate anything they could get, dogs, cats, rats. The market price for rats was two francs apiece. By the 31st of January, there would be nothing left to eat. Additional suffering arose from the fact that the winter was one of the coldest on record. Coal and firewood were exhausted. Trees in the Champs Élysées and the Bois de Boulogne were cut down, and fires built in the public squares for the poor. Wine froze in casks. On January 28, with famine almost upon her, Paris capitulated after an heroic resistance.

The terms of peace granted by Bismarck were extraordinarily severe. They were laid down in the Treaty of Frankfort, signed May 10, 1871. France was forced to cede Alsace and a large part of Lorraine, including the important fortress of Metz. She must pay an absolutely unprecedented war indemnity of five thousand million francs (a billion dollars) within three years. She was to support a German army of occupation, which should be gradually withdrawn as the installments of the indemnity were paid.

The Treaty of Frankfort has remained the open sore of Europe since 1871. France could never forget or forgive the deep humiliation of it. The enormous fine might, with the lapse of time, have been overlooked, but never the seizure of the two provinces by mere force and against

the unanimous and passionate protest of the people of Alsace and Lorraine. Moreover the eastern frontier of France was seriously weakened.

Meanwhile other events had occurred as a result of this war. Italy had completed her unification by seizing the city of Rome, thus terminating the temporal rule of the Pope. The Pope had been supported there by a French garrison. This was withdrawn as a result of the battle of Sedan, and the troops of Victor Emmanuel attacked the Pope's own troops, defeated them after a slight resistance, and entered Rome on the 20th of September, 1870. The unity of Italy was now consummated and Rome became the capital of the kingdom.

A more important consequence of the war was the completion of the unification of Germany, and the creation of the German Empire. Bismarck had desired a war with France as necessary to complete the unity of Germany. Whether necessary or not, at least that end was now secured. During the war negotiations were carried on between Prussia and the South German states. Treaties were drawn up and the confederation was widened to include all the German states. On January 18, 1871, in the royal palace of Versailles, King William I was proclaimed German Emperor.

The war of 1866 had resulted in the expulsion of Austria from Germany and from Italy. The war of 1870 completed the unification of both countries. Berlin became the capital of a federal Empire, Rome of a unified Kingdom. The war of 1870 also created the Third Republic.

CHAPTER III

THE GERMAN EMPIRE

The Franco-German War completed the unification of Germany. The Empire was proclaimed January 18, 1871, in the old capital of the French monarchy. The constitution of the new state was adopted immediately after the close of the war and went into force April 16, 1871. In most respects it was simply the constitution of the North German Confederation of 1867. The name of Confederation gave way to that of Empire and the name of Emperor was substituted for that of President. But the Empire was a confederation, consisting of twenty-five states and one Imperial Territory, Alsace-Lorraine. The King of Prussia was *ipso facto* German Emperor. The legislative power was vested in the Bundesrath, or Federal Council, and the Reichstag. The Emperor had the right to declare war with the consent of the Bundesrath, he was to be commander-in-chief of the army and navy, to have charge of foreign affairs and to make treaties, subject to the limitation that certain kinds of treaties must be ratified by Parliament. He was to be assisted by a Chancellor, whom he was to appoint, and whom he might remove, who was not to be responsible to Parliament but to him alone. Under the Chancellor were various secretaries of state, who simply administered departments, but who did not form a cabinet responsible to Parliament.

Laws were to be made by the Bundesrath and the Reichstag. The Bundesrath was the most powerful body in the Empire. It possessed legislative, executive, and judicial functions and was a sort of diplomatic assembly. It represented the states, that is, the rulers of the twenty-five states of which the Empire consisted. It was to be composed of delegates appointed by the rulers. Unlike the Senate of the United States, the states of Germany were not to be represented equally in the Bundesrath but most unequally. There were to be fifty-eight members. Of these Prussia was to have seventeen, Bavaria six, Saxony and Würtemberg four each; others three or two; and seventeen of the states were to have only one apiece. The Bundesrath was practically the old Diet of Frankfort carried over into the new system, with certain changes rendered necessary by the intervening history. The members were to be really diplomats, representing the numerous sovereigns of Germany. They were not to vote individually, but each state was to vote as a unit and as the ruler might instruct. Thus the seventeen votes of Prussia were to be cast always as a unit, on one side or the other, and as the King of Prussia should direct. The Bundesrath was not to be a deliberative body, because its members were to vote according to instructions from the home governments. Its members were not to be free to vote as they might see fit. It was in reality an assembly of the sovereigns of Germany. Its powers were very extensive. It was the most important element of the legislature, as most legislation began in it, its consent was necessary to all legislation, and every law passed by the Reichstag must after that be submitted to it for ratification or rejection. It was therefore the chief source of

legislation. Representing the princes of Germany, it was a thoroughly monarchical institution, a bulwark of the monarchical spirit. As a matter of fact it has generally been controlled by Prussia, although there have been a few cases since 1871 in which the will of Prussia has been overridden. Its proceedings were secret.

The Reichstag was the only popular element in the Empire. It consisted of 397 members, elected for a term of five years by the voters, that is, by men twenty-five years of age or older. The powers of the Reichstag were inferior to those of most of the other popular chambers of Europe. It neither made nor unmade ministries. While it, in conjunction with the Bundesrath, voted the appropriations, certain ones, notably those for the army, were voted for a period of years. Its consent was required for new taxes, whereas taxes previously levied continue to be collected without the consent of Parliament being secured again. The matters on which Parliament might legislate were those concerning army, navy, commerce, tariffs, railways, postal system, telegraphs, civil and criminal law. On matters not within the jurisdiction of the Empire each state might legislate as it chose. In reality the Reichstag was little more than an advisory body, with the power of veto of new legislation. The mainspring of power was elsewhere—in the Bundesrath and in the Kingdom of Prussia.

The German Empire was unique among federal governments in that it was a confederation of monarchical states, which, moreover, were very unequal in size and population, ranging, in 1914, from Prussia with a population of 40,000,000, and covering two-thirds of the territory of Germany, down to Schaumburg-Lippe, with

a population of 45,000. Three members of the Empire were republics: Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg. The rest were monarchies. All had constitutions and legislatures, more or less liberal. This confederation differed from other governments of its class in that the states were of unequal voting power in both houses, one state largely preponderating, Prussia, a fact explained by its great size, its population, and the importance of its historic rôle.

The chief representative of the Emperor was the Chancellor. The Chancellor was not like the Prime Minister of England, simply one of the ministers. He stood distinct from and above all federal officials. There was no imperial cabinet in the German Empire, and cabinet, or what is correctly called responsible, government did not exist. The Chancellor was appointed by the Emperor, was removable by the Emperor, was responsible to the Emperor, and was not responsible to either Bundesrath or Reichstag. Either or both assemblies might vote down his proposals, might even vote lack of confidence. It would make no difference to him. He would not resign. The only support he needed was that of the Emperor.

There were other so-called ministers, such as those of foreign affairs, of the interior, of education. But these were not like the members of the cabinet of the United States or of England. They were subordinates of the Chancellor, carrying out his will, and not for a moment thinking of resigning because of any adverse vote in the popular house, the Reichstag. The powers of the Chancellor were great, but as his tenure was absolutely dependent upon the favor of the Emperor this really meant that the power of the Emperor was great and was irre-

sponsible. The Chancellor might be an imposing figure in the state, as Bismarck was; he might be a mere agent of the Emperor, as all of Bismarck's successors were—for the reason that William II, unlike William I, intended to rule and really to be the Chancellor himself.

This was the most important characteristic of the German Empire. Unlike England, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, the Scandinavian states, the cabinet system of government did not exist in Germany. The executive was not subject to the legislative power; ministers might not be turned out of office by adverse majorities. Germany was a constitutional state, in the sense that it had a written constitution. It was not a parliamentary state. Parliament did not have the controlling voice in the state. The monarchs, and particularly the monarch of Prussia, had that. This was Bismarck's great achievement. His victory over the Prussian Parliament had this effect, that it checked the growth of responsible government in Germany. So far as ensuring self-government, or a large measure of it, to the people of Germany was concerned, the constitution, largely the work of Bismarck, was much inferior to the constitution framed by the Parliament of Frankfort in 1848.

The Emperor gained his great power from the fact that he was King of Prussia. He was Emperor because he was King. As King he had very extensive functions. His functions as Emperor and King were so connected that it was not easy to distinguish them. As a matter of fact the King of Prussia was very nearly an absolute monarch. The Prussian Parliament was far less likely to oppose his will than was the Imperial Parliament which, itself, has shown only slight independence since 1871.

There was no parliamentary government in Prussia any more than there was in the Empire.

Since 1871, Germany has had three Emperors, William I (1871-88), Frederick III (March 9-June 15, 1888), and William II, from 1888 to 1918.

The history since 1871 naturally falls into two periods, which are in many respects well defined, the reign of William I and the reign of William II. During the former the real ruler was Prince Bismarck, the Chancellor, whose position was one of immense prestige and authority. Having in nine years made the King, whom he found upon the point of abdicating, the most powerful ruler in Europe, and having given Germans unity, he remained the chief figure in the state twenty years longer until his resignation in 1890. During the latter period, the reign of William II, the Emperor was the real head of the government.

The Kulturkampf

No sooner was the new Empire established than it was torn by a fierce religious conflict that lasted many years, the so-called Kulturkampf, or "war in defense of civilization," a contest between the State and the Roman Catholic Church. The wars with Austria and France engendered animosity in the field of religion as they were victories of a Protestant state over two strongly Catholic powers. The loss of the Pope's temporal power in 1870 embittered many Catholics still further and a party was formed in Germany, the Center, to work for the restoration of the temporal power and for the general interests of the Church. In the first elections to the Reichstag this party won sixty-three votes. Bismarck did not like this ap-

pearance of a clerical party in the political arena. He was of the opinion that the Church should keep out of politics. Moreover, he decidedly objected to what he understood to be the claims of the Church that in certain matters, which he regarded as belonging exclusively to the State, the Church was superior to the secular authority and had the primary right to the allegiance of Catholics.

The immediate cause of the Kulturkampf was a quarrel among Catholics themselves. The proclamation by the Vatican Council in 1870 of the new dogma of papal infallibility had been opposed in the Council by the German bishops. But they and the priests of Germany were now required to subscribe to it. The large majority did, but some refused. The latter called themselves Old Catholics, proclaiming their adherence to the Church as hitherto defined, but rejecting this addition to their creed as false. The bishops who accepted it demanded that the Old Catholics should be removed from their positions in the universities and schools. The government of Prussia refused to remove them. A religious war was shortly in progress which grew more bitter each year. First the Imperial Parliament forbade the religious orders to engage in teaching; then, in 1872, it expelled the Jesuits from Germany. Of all legislation enacted during this struggle the Falk or May Laws of the Prussian legislature were the most important (passed in May of three successive years, 1873, 1874, 1875). Bismarck supported them on the ground that the contest was political, not religious, that there must be no state within the State, no power considering itself superior to the established authorities. He also believed that the whole movement was conducted by those opposed to German unity. Any-

thing that imperiled that unity must be crushed. These May Laws gave the State large powers over the education and appointment of the clergy. They forbade the Roman Catholic Church to intervene in any way in civil affairs, or to coerce citizens or officials; they required that all clergymen should pass the regular state examination of the preparatory school, and should study theology for three years at a state university; that all Catholic seminaries should be subject to state inspection. They also established control over the appointment and dismissal of priests. A law was passed making civil marriage compulsory. This was to reduce the power that priests could exercise by refusing to marry a Catholic and a Protestant, and now even Old Catholics. Religious orders were suppressed.

Against these laws the Catholics indignantly protested. The Pope declared them null and void; the clergy refused to obey them, and the faithful rallied to the support of the clergy. To enforce them the government resorted to fines, imprisonment, deprivation of salary, expulsion from the country. The conflict spread everywhere, into little villages, as well as into the cities, into the universities and schools. It dominated politics for several years. The national life was much disturbed, yet the end was not accomplished. In the elections of 1877 the Center succeeded in returning ninety-two members, and was the largest party in the Reichstag. It was evident that the policy was a failure. Other questions were becoming prominent, of an economic and social character, and Bismarck wished to be free to handle them. Particularly requiring attention, in his opinion, and that of William I, was a new and most menacing party, the Socialist. Bis-

marck therefore prepared to retreat. The death of Pius IX in 1878, and the election of Leo XIII, a more conciliatory and diplomatic Pope, facilitated the change of policy. The anti-clerical legislation was gradually repealed, except that concerning civil marriage. In return for the measures surrendered Bismarck gained the support of the Center for laws which he now had more at heart. The only permanent result of this religious conflict was the strengthening of the Center or Catholic party, which has been, during most of the time since, the strongest party in this Protestant country.

Bismarck and Socialism

It was in 1878 that Bismarck turned his attention to the Socialist party, which had for some time been growing, and now seemed menacing. That party was founded by Ferdinand Lassalle, a Socialist of 1848, much influenced by the French school of that day. The party, originally appearing in 1848, was shortly broken up by persecution and did not reappear until 1863. In 1863 Lassalle founded a journal called the *Social Democrat*. In opposition to this party a somewhat different Socialist group was led by Karl Marx. These two groups were rivals until 1875, when a fusion was effected and the party platform was adopted at Gotha. This platform denounced the existing organization of the economic system, the ownership of the means of production solely by the capitalist class and in its interest; it demanded that the state should own them and should conduct industries in the interest of society, the largest part of which consists of laborers, and that the products

of labor should be justly distributed; it aimed at a free state and a socialistic society. Needless to say, Germany was neither at that time. That Germany might be a free state the Socialists demanded universal suffrage for all over twenty years of age, women as well as men, secret ballot, freedom of the press, freedom of association, and indeed the greatest extension of political rights in a democratic direction, free and compulsory education, and certain immediate economic and social reforms, such as a progressive income tax, a normal working day, and a free Sunday, prohibition of child labor and of all forms of labor by women which were dangerous to health or morality, laws for the protection of the life and health of workingmen and for the inspection of mines and factories. In 1871 the Socialists elected two members to the Reichstag, three years later their representation increased to nine, and in 1877 to twelve. Their popular votes were: in 1871, 124,655; in 1874, 351,952; and in 1877, 493,288.

The steady growth of this party aroused the alarm of the ruling classes of Germany, which stood for monarchy, aristocracy, the existing economic system, while its aims were destructive of all these. Bismarck had long hated the Socialists, as was natural considering his training and environment, and considering also the declarations of the Socialists themselves. Their leaders, Liebknecht and Bebel, had opposed the North German Confederation, the war with France, the annexation of Alsace and Lorraine. The Socialists expressed openly and freely their entire opposition to the existing order in Germany. It was only a question of time when they must clash violently with the man who had helped so powerfully to

create that order, and whose life work henceforth was to consolidate it. Again, the Socialist party was radically democratic, and Bismarck hated democracy. A conflict between men representing the very opposite poles of opinion was inevitable. Bismarck determined to crush the Socialists once for all. He would use two methods; one stern repression of Socialist agitation, the other amelioration of the conditions of the working class, conditions which alone, he believed, caused them to listen to the false and deceptive doctrines of the Socialist leaders.

First came repression. In October, 1878, a law of great severity, intended to stamp out completely all Socialist propaganda, was passed by the Imperial Parliament. It forbade all associations, meetings, and publications having for their object "the subversion of the social order," or in which "socialistic tendencies" should appear. It gave the police large powers of interference, arrest, and expulsion from the country. Martial law might be proclaimed where desirable, which meant that, as far as Socialists were concerned, the ordinary courts would cease to protect individual liberties. Practically a mere decree of a police official would suffice to expel from Germany anyone suspected or accused of being a Socialist. This law was enacted for a period of four years. It was later twice renewed and remained in force until 1890. It was vigorously applied. According to statistics furnished by the Socialists themselves, 1,400 publications were suppressed, 1,500 persons were imprisoned, 900 banished, during these twelve years. One might not read the works of Lassalle, for instance, even in a public library.

This law, says a biographer of Bismarck, is very dis-

appointing. "We find the Government again having recourse to the same means for checking and guarding opinion which Metternich had used fifty years before." [1] It was, moreover, an egregious failure. For twelve years the Socialists carried on their propaganda in secret. It became evident that their power lay in their ideas and in the economic conditions of the working classes, rather than in formal organizations, which might be broken up. A paper was published for them in Switzerland and every week thousands of copies found their way into the hands of workingmen in Germany, despite the utmost vigilance of the police. Persecution in their case, as in that of the Roman Catholics, only rendered the party more resolute and active. At first it seemed that the law would realize the aims of its sponsors, for in the elections of 1881, the first after its passage, the Socialist vote fell from about 493,000 to about 312,000. But in 1884 it rose to 549,000; in 1887 to 763,000; in 1890 to 1,427,000, resulting in the election of thirty-five members to the Reichstag. In that year the laws were not renewed. The Socialists came out of their contest with Bismarck with a popular and parliamentary vote increased threefold. Bismarck, true to his fundamental belief that difficult opponents are best put down by force, not won by persuasion, had attempted here, as in the Kulturkampf, to settle an annoying question by arbitrary and despotic measures enforced ruthlessly by the police and sacrificing what are regarded in many other countries as the most precious rights of the individual.

But he had at no time intended to rest content with merely repressive measures. He had also intended to

[1] Headlam, *Bismarck*, 409.

win the working classes away from the Socialist party by enacting certain laws favoring them, by trying to convince them that the State was their real benefactor and was deeply interested in their welfare.

The method by which Bismarck proposed to improve the condition of the working class was by an elaborate and comprehensive system of insurance against the misfortunes and vicissitudes of life, against sickness, accident, old age, and incapacity. It was his desire that any workingman incapacitated in any of these ways should not be exposed to the possibility of becoming a pauper, but should receive a pension from the state. His policy was called State Socialism. His proposals met with vehement opposition, both in the Reichstag and among influential classes outside. It was only slowly that he carried them through, the Sickness Insurance Law in 1883, the Accident Insurance Laws in 1884 and 1885, and the Old Age Insurance Law in 1889. These laws are very complicated and cannot be described here at length.

Such was Bismarck's contribution to the solution of the social question, which grew to such commanding importance as the nineteenth century wore on. In this legislation Bismarck was a pioneer. His ideas have been studied widely in other countries, and his example followed in some.

The Socialists did not coöperate with him in the passage of these laws, which they denounced as entirely inadequate to solve the social evils, as only a slight step in the right direction. Nor did Bismarck wish their support. They were Social Democrats. Democracy he hated. Socialism of the state, controlled by a powerful monarch, was one thing. Socialism carried through by

the people believing in a democratic government, opposed to the existing order in government and society, a very different thing. At the very moment that Bismarck secured the passage of the Accident Insurance Bill he also demanded the renewal of the law against the Socialists. His prophecy, that if these laws were passed the Socialists would sound their bird call in vain, has not been fulfilled. That party has grown greatly and almost uninterruptedly ever since he began his war upon it.

Bismarck and the Policy of Protection

In 1879, Bismarck brought about a profound change in the financial and industrial policy of Germany by inducing Parliament to abandon the policy of a low tariff, and comparative free trade, and to adopt a system of high tariff and pronounced protection. His purposes were twofold. He wished to increase the revenue of the Empire and to encourage native industries. In adopting the principle of protection he was not influenced, he asserted, by the theories of economists, but by his own observation of facts. He observed that, while England was the only nation following a policy of free trade, France and Austria and Russia and the United States were pronounced believers in protection and that it was too much to ask that Germany should permanently remain the dupe of an amiable error. He said that owing to her low tariff Germany had been the dumping ground for the overproduction of other countries. Now industries must be protected that they might flourish and that they might have at least the home market. As this policy had proved successful in other countries, notably in the United States, he urged that Germany follow their example.

Bismarck won the day, though not without difficulty. Germany entered upon a period of protection, which, growing higher and applied to more and more industries, has continued ever since. Bismarck believed that Germany must become rich in order to be strong; that she could only become rich by manufactures; and that she could have manufactures only by giving them protection. The system was worked out gradually and piecemeal, as he could not carry his whole plan at once. By means of the tariff Bismarck wished to assure Germans the home market. Not only was this largely accomplished, but by its means the foreign market also was widened. By offering concessions to foreign nations for concessions from them, Germany gained for her manufactured products an entrance into many other countries, which had been denied them before. The prodigious expansion of German industry after 1880 is generally regarded in Germany as a vindication of this policy.

Acquisition of Colonies

One of the important features of the closing years of Bismarck's political career was the beginning of a German colonial empire. In his earlier years Bismarck did not believe in Germany's attempting the acquisition of colonies. In 1871 he refused to demand as prize of war any of the French colonial possessions. He believed that Germany should consolidate, and should not risk incurring the hostility of other nations by entering upon the path of colonial rivalry. But colonies, nevertheless, were being founded under the spirit of private initiative. Energetic merchants from Hamburg and Bremen established trading stations in Africa, and the islands of the

Pacific, for the purpose of selling their goods and acquiring tropical products, such as cocoa, coffee, rubber, spices. The aid of the Government was invoked at various times, but Bismarck held aloof. The interest aroused in the exploits of these private companies gave rise towards 1880 to a definite colonial party and the formation of a Colonial Society, which has since become important.

The change in the policy of the Government, however, from one of aloofness to one of energetic interest in the acquisition of colonies was largely a result of the adoption of the policy of protection and active governmental encouragement of manufactures and commerce. In the debate on the tariff bill of 1879 Bismarck said that it was desirable to protect manufactures, that thus a greater demand for labor would arise, that more people could live in Germany, and that therefore the emigration which had for years drawn tens of thousands from the country, particularly to the United States, would be decreased. But to develop manufactures to the utmost, Germany must have new markets for her products; and here colonies would be useful. In 1884 he adopted a vigorous colonial policy, supporting and expanding the work of the private merchants and travelers. In that year Germany seized a number of regions in Africa, in the southwest, the west, and the east. A period of diplomatic activity began, leading in the next few years to treaties with England and other powers, resulting in the fixing of the boundaries of the various claimants to African territory. This is the partition of Africa described elsewhere.[1] Germany thus acquired a scattered

[1] See Chapter IX.

African empire of great size, consisting of Kamerun, Togoland, German Southwest Africa, German East Africa; also a part of New Guinea. Later some of the Samoan Islands came into her possession, and in 1899 she purchased the Caroline and the Ladrone Islands, excepting Guam, from Spain for about four million dollars.

The Triple Alliance

While domestic affairs formed the chief concern of Bismarck after the war with France, yet he followed the course of foreign affairs with the same closeness of attention that he had shown before, and manipulated them with the same display of subtlety and audacity that had characterized his previous diplomatic career. His great achievement in diplomacy in these years was the formation of the Triple Alliance, an achievement directed, like all the actions of his career, toward the consolidation and exaltation of his country. The origin of this alliance is really to be found in the Treaty of Frankfort, which sealed the humiliation of France. The wresting from France of Alsace and Lorraine inevitably rendered that country desirous of a war of revenge, of a war for their recovery. This remained the open sore of Europe after 1871, occasioning numerous, incontestable, and widespread evils. Firmly resolved to keep what he had won, Bismarck's chief consideration was to render such a war hopeless, therefore, perhaps, impossible. France must be isolated so completely that she would not dare to move. This was accomplished, first by the friendly understanding brought about by Bismarck between the three rulers of eastern Europe, the Emperors of Germany, Russia, and

Austria. But this understanding was shattered by events in the Balkan peninsula during the years from 1876 to 1878. In the Balkans, Russia and Austria were rivals, and their rivalry was thrown into high relief at the Congress of Berlin over which Bismarck presided. Russia, unaided, had carried on a war with Turkey, and had imposed the Treaty of San Stefano upon her conquered enemy, only to find that Europe would not recognize that treaty, but insisted upon its revision at an international congress, and at that congress she found Bismarck, to whom she had rendered inestimable services in the years so critical for Prussia, from 1863 to 1870, now acting as the friend of Austria, a power which had taken no part in the conflict, but was now intent upon drawing chestnuts from the fire with the aid of the Iron Chancellor. The Treaty of Berlin was a humiliation for Russia and a striking success for Austria, her rival, which was now empowered to "occupy" Bosnia and Herzegovina. No wonder that the Russian Chancellor, Gortchakoff, pronounced the Congress of Berlin "the darkest episode in his career," and that Alexander II declared that "Bismarck had forgotten his promises of 1870." By favoring one of his allies Bismarck had alienated the other. In this fact lay the germ of the two great international combinations of the future, the Triple and Dual Alliances, factors of profound significance in the recent history of Europe.

Of these the first in order of creation and in importance was the Triple Alliance. Realizing that Russia was mortally offended at his conduct, and that the friendly understanding with her was over, Bismarck turned for compensation to a closer union with Austria, and con-

cluded a treaty with her October 7, 1879. This treaty provided that if either Germany or Austria were attacked by Russia the two should be bound "to lend each other reciprocal aid with the whole of their military power, and, subsequently, to conclude no peace except conjointly and in agreement"; that if either Germany or Austria should be attacked by another power—as, for instance, France—the ally should remain neutral, but that if this enemy should be aided by Russia, then Germany and Austria should act together with their full military force, and should make peace in common. Thus this Austro-German Treaty of 1879 established a defensive alliance aimed particularly against Russia, to a lesser degree against France. The treaty was secret and was not published until 1887. Meanwhile, in 1882, Italy joined the alliance, irritated at France because of her seizure the year before of Tunis, a country which Italy herself had coveted as a seat for colonial expansion but which Bismarck had encouraged France to take, wishing to make one more enemy for France, and thus to force that enemy, Italy, into the alliance, highly unnatural in many ways, with Austria, her old-time enemy, and with Germany. Thus was formed the Triple Alliance. The text of that alliance has never been published, but its purpose and character may probably be derived from that of the Austro-German Alliance, which was now expanded to include another power. The alliance was made for a period of years, but was constantly renewed and remained in force until 1915. It was a defensive alliance, designed to assure its territory to each of the contracting parties.

Thus was created a combination of powers which dominated Central Europe from the Baltic to the Mediter-

ranean, and which rested on a military force of over two million men. At its head stood Germany. Europe entered upon a period of German leadership in international affairs which was later to be challenged by the rise of a new alliance, that of Russia and France, which for various reasons, however, was slow in forming.

The Reign of William II

On the 9th of March, 1888, Emperor William I died at the age of ninety-one. He was succeeded by his son, Frederick III, in his fifty-seventh year. The new Emperor was a man of moderation, of liberalism in politics, an admirer of the English Constitution. It is supposed that, had he lived, the autocracy of the ruler would have given way to a genuine parliamentary system like that of England, and that an era of greater liberty would have been inaugurated. But he was already a dying man, ill of cancer of the throat. His reign was one of physical agony patiently borne. Unable to use his voice, he could only indicate his wishes by writing or by signs. The reign was soon over, before the era of liberalism had time to dawn. Frederick was King and Emperor only from March 9 to June 15, 1888.

He was succeeded by his son, William II. The new ruler was twenty-nine years of age, a young man of very active mind, of fertile imagination, versatile, ambitious, self-confident, a man of unusual vigor. In his earliest utterances, the new sovereign showed his enthusiasm for the army and for religious orthodoxy. He held the doctrine of the divine origin of his power with medieval fervor, expressing it with frequency and in dramatic

fashion. It was evident that a man of such a character would wish to govern, and not simply reign. He would not be willing long to efface himself behind the imposing figure of the great Chancellor. Bismarck had prophesied that the Emperor would be his own Chancellor, yet he did not have the wisdom to resign when the old Emperor died, and to depart with dignity. He clung to power. From the beginning friction developed between the two. They thought differently, felt differently. The fundamental question was, who should rule in Germany? The struggle was for supremacy, since there was no way in which two persons so self-willed and autocratic could divide power. As Bismarck stayed on when he saw that his presence was no longer desired, the Emperor, not willing to be overshadowed by so commanding and illustrious a minister, finally demanded his resignation in 1890. Thus in bitterness and humiliation ended the political career of a man who, according to Bismarck himself, had "cut a figure in the history of Germany and Prussia." He lived several years longer, dying in 1898 at the age of eighty-three, leaving as his epitaph, "A faithful servant of Emperor William I." Thus vanished from view a man who will rank in history as a great diplomatist and sagacious statesman.

After 1890 the personality of William II was the decisive factor in the State. His chancellors were, in fact as well as in theory, his servants, carrying out the master's wish. Down to the outbreak of the Great War there were four: Caprivi, 1890-94; Hohenlohe, 1894-1900; von Bülow, 1900-09, and Bethmann-Hollweg, from July, 1909. That war was to add three others to the

list, whose terms were to prove exceedingly brief, Michaelis, Hertling, and Prince Maximilian of Baden.

The extreme political tension was at first somewhat relieved by the removal of Bismarck from the scene, by this "dropping of the pilot," after thirty-eight years of continuous service. The early measures under the new régime showed a liberal tendency. The anti-Socialist laws, expiring in 1890, were not renewed. This had been one of the causes of friction between the Emperor and the Chancellor. Bismarck wished them renewed, and their stringency increased. The Emperor wished to try milder methods, hoping to undermine the Socialists completely by further measures of social and economic amelioration, to kill them with kindness. The repressive laws lapsing, the Socialists reorganized openly, and have conducted an aggressive campaign ever since. The Emperor, soon recognizing the futility of anodynes, became their bitter enemy, and began to denounce them vehemently, but no new legislation was passed against them, although this was several times attempted.

The reign of William II was notable for the remarkable expansion of industry and commerce, which rendered Germany the redoubtable rival of England and the United States. In colonial and foreign affairs an aggressive policy was followed. German colonies proved of little importance, entailed great expense, and yielded only small returns. But the desire for a great colonial empire became a settled policy of the Government, and seized the popular imagination.

Connected with the growing interest of Germany in commercial and colonial affairs went an increasing interest in the navy. Strong on land for fifty years, Will-

iam II desired that Germany should be strong on the sea, that she might act with decision in any part of the world, that her diplomacy, which was permeated with the idea that nothing great should be done in world politics anywhere, in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, without her consent, might be supported by a formidable navy. To make that fleet powerful was a constant and a growing preoccupation of the Emperor.

In the political world the rise of the Social Democratic party was the most important phenomenon. It represented not merely a desire for a revolution in the economic sphere, it also represented a protest against the autocratic government of the ruler, a demand for democratic institutions. While Germany had a constitution and a parliament, the monarch was invested with vast power. Parliament did not control the Government, as the ministers were not responsible to it. There was freedom of speech in Parliament, but practically during most of this reign it did not exist outside. Hundreds of men have, during the past twenty years, been imprisoned for such criticisms of the Government as in other countries are the current coin of discussion. This is the crime of *lèse-majesté,* which, as long as it exists, prevents a free political life. The growth of the Social Democratic party to some extent represented mere liberalism, not adherence to the economic theory of the Socialists. It was the great reform and opposition party of Germany. It had, in 1907, the largest popular vote of any party, 3,260,000.[1] Yet the Conservatives, with less than 1,500,000 votes, elected in 1907 eighty-three members to the Reichstag to

[1] In 1912 the Socialists cast 4,250,000 votes and elected 110 members to the Reichstag, thus displacing the Center as the largest party in that body.

the forty-three of the Socialists. The reason was this: The electoral districts had not been altered since they were originally laid out in 1869-71, though population has vastly shifted from country to city. The cities have grown rapidly since then, and it is in industrial centers that the Socialists are strongest. Berlin, with a population in 1871 of 600,000, had six members in the Reichstag. It still had only that number in 1907, although its population was over 2,000,000, and although it would have been entitled to twenty members had equal electoral districts existed. These the Socialists demanded, but for this very reason the Government refused the demand. The extreme opponents of the Social Democrats even urged that universal suffrage, guaranteed by the Constitution, be abolished, as the only way to crush the party. To this extreme the Government did not dare to go.

In recent years several questions have been much discussed: the question of the electoral reform in Prussia; of the redistribution of seats, both in the Prussian Landtag and the Imperial Reichstag; and of ministerial responsibility.

Prussia was the state that in practice ruled the German Empire. This was what was intended by Bismarck when he drew up the Constitution of the Empire, it was precisely the object of his entire policy. The Constitution was based on the two chief articles of Bismarck's creed, the power of the monarch and the ascendancy of Prussia. This was the accepted idea of the governing classes down to the outbreak of the war. "Prussia," as was said in 1914 by Prince von Bülow, the most important Chancellor of the Empire since Bismarck, "attained her greatness as a country of soldiers and officials, and as such she

was able to accomplish the work of German union; to this day she is still, in all essentials, a state of soldiers and officials." The governing classes were, in Prussia, which, in turn, governed Germany, the monarchy, the aristocracy, and a bureaucracy of military and civil officials, responsible to the King alone. The determining factor in the state was the personality of the King.

Neither the Empire, nor the Kingdom of Prussia, was governed by democratic institutions. The Kingdom lagged far behind the Empire, and, so great was its power, impeded the development of liberty in the Empire. Prussia in 1914 was a country of 40,000,000 people. It had had a legislature of two chambers since 1850, and the lower house of the legislature was chosen by universal suffrage. Every Prussian man who had attained his twenty-fifth year had the vote. Was Prussia, therefore, a democracy? Not exactly, for this universal suffrage was most marvelously manipulated. The exercise of the right to vote was so arranged that the ballot of the poor man was practically annihilated. Universal suffrage was rendered illusory. And this was the way it was done. The voters were divided in each electoral district into three classes according to wealth. The amount of taxes, paid by the district, was divided into three equal parts. Those taxpayers who paid the first third were grouped into one class; those, more numerous, who paid the second third, into another class; those who paid the remainder, into still another class. The result was that a very few rich men were set apart by themselves, the less rich by themselves, and the poor by themselves. Each of these groups, voting separately, elected an equal number of delegates to a convention, which con-

vention chose the delegates of that constituency to the lower house of the Prussian Parliament.

Thus in every electoral convention two-thirds of the members belonged to the wealthy or well-to-do class. There was no chance in such a system for the poor, for the masses. This system gave an enormous preponderance of political power to the rich. The first class consisted of very few men, in some districts of only one; the second was sometimes twenty times as numerous, the third sometimes a hundred, or even a thousand times. Thus, though every man had the suffrage the vote of a single rich man might have as great weight as the votes of a thousand workingmen. Universal suffrage was thus manipulated in such a way as to defeat democracy decisively and to consolidate a privileged class in power in the only branch of the government that had even the appearance of being of popular origin. Bismarck, no friend of liberalism, once characterized this electoral system as the worst ever created. Its shrieking injustice was shown by the fact that in 1900 the Social Democrats, who actually cast a majority of the votes, got only seven seats out of nearly 400. It was one of the most undemocratic systems in existence.

In 1908 there were 293,000 voters in the first class, 1,065,240 in the second, 6,324,079 in the third. The first class represented 4 per cent, the second 14 per cent, the third 82 per cent of the population. In Cologne the first class comprised 370 electors, the second 2,584, while the third had 22,324. The first class chose the same number of electors as the third. Thus, 370 rich men had the same voting capacity as 22,324 proletarians. In Saarbrücken the Baron von Stumm formed the first class

NORTH SEA
DENMARK
Seeland
Fünen
Schleswig
Holstein
Hamburg
Altona
Bremen
Oldenburg
Lüneburger Heath
Hanover
Brunswick
Westphalia
Rhine
Hesse
Nassau
Cologne
Aachen
Frankfort
Wiesbaden
Mainz
Darmstadt
Hesse
Thuringia
Erfurt
Weimar
Eisenach
Saxony
Halle
Leipzig
Dresden
Magdeburg
Altmark
Prignitz
Mecklenburg
Rostock
Lübeck
Kiel
Flensburg
Netherlands
West & East Frisian Is
Amsterdam
Zuider Sea
Groningen
Leeuwarden
Emden
Münster
Osnabrück
Minden
Bielefeld
Paderborn
Dortmund
Essen
Duisburg
Düsseldorf
Elberfeld
Barmen
Cologne
Bonn
Coblenz
Treves
Luxemburg
Metz
Nancy
Strassburg
Alsace
Lorraine
Bavarian Palatinate
Ludwigshafen
Mannheim
Heidelberg
Speyer
Karlsruhe
Baden
Württemberg
Stuttgart
Tübingen
Ulm
Danube
Augsburg
Munich
Ingolstadt
Landshut
Freising
Regensburg
Nuremberg
Erlangen
Bamberg
Bayreuth
Würzburg
Franconia
Schweinfurt
Meiningen
Hildburghausen
Coburg
Hof
Plauen
Zwickau
Chemnitz
Freiburg
Mülhausen
Belfort
Rhine
Black Forest
Constance
Ravensburg
Kempten
Lindau
Alps
Hohenzollern
Ansbach
Fürth
Rothenburg
Heilbronn
Aschaffenburg
Wetzlar
Siegen
Marburg
Cassel
Göttingen
Nordhausen
Eisleben
Naumburg
Merseburg
Zerbst
Dessau
Wittenberg
Brandenburg
Spandau
Potsdam
Frankfort
Stettin
Lübeck
Rostock
Greifswald
Stralsund
Rügen
Fehmarn
Oldenburg
Lübeck
Travemünde
Neumünster
Itzehoe
Husum
Tönning
Heligoland
Sylt
Föhr
Amrum
Esbjerg
Ribe
Aabenraa
Sønderborg
Flensburg
Kolding
Odense
Svendborg
Nyborg
Korsør
Frederikssund
Frederikshavn
Copenhagen
Helsingør
Møen
Falster
Lolland
Langeland
Ærø
Als
Fyn
Jylland
Skagerrak
Kattegat
Sound
Great Belt
Little Belt
Limfjord
Hals
Aalborg
Aarhus
Randers
Viborg
Skive
Thisted
Hjørring
Frederikshavn
Skagen
Esbjerg
Ribe
Haderslev
Sønderborg
Aabenraa
Flensburg
Tønder
Husum
Tönning
Heligoland
Sylt
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Amrum
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Little Belt
Limfjord
Hals
Aalborg
Aarhus
Randers
Viborg
Skive
Thisted
Hjørring
Frederikshavn
Skagen

THE GERMAN EMPIRE 1914.

Abbreviations:

B.-Brunswick	L.-Lippe.
R.A.-Reuss elder Line.	R.J.-Reuss younger Line.
S.A.-Saxe-Altenburg.	S.C.G.-Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.
S.M.-Saxe-Meiningen.	S.W.-Saxe-Weimar.
S.L.-Schaumburg-Lippe.	S.R.-Schwarzbg-Rudolstadt.
S.S.-Schwarzburg-Sondershn.	W.-Waldeck.

all by himself and announced complacently that he did not suffer from his isolation. In one of the Berlin districts Herr Heffte, a manufacturer of sausages, formed the first class.

This system would seem to be outrageous enough by reason of its monstrous plutocratic caste. But this was not all. This reactionary edifice was appropriately crowned by another device—oral voting. Neither in the primary nor the secondary voting was a secret ballot used. Voting was not even by a written or printed ballot, but by the spoken word. Thus everyone exercised his right publicly in the presence of his superior or his patron or employer or his equals or the official representative of the King. In such a country as Prussia, where the police were notoriously ubiquitous, what a weapon for absolutism! The great landowners, the great manufacturers, the State, could easily bring all the pressure they desired to bear upon the voter, exercising his wretched rudiment of political power. Needless to say, under such a system as this the working classes were almost entirely unrepresented in the Prussian legislature.

Again, with the exception of a thoroughly insignificant measure passed in 1906, no changes were made in the electoral districts of Prussia after 1858. No account was taken of the changes in the population and there were consequently great disparities between the various districts. Thus, in a recent election in the Province of East Prussia, the actual ratio of inhabitants to each deputy was 63,000, while in Berlin it was 170,000. In one election, 3,000,000 inhabitants of four large Prussian districts returned 9 representatives, while three other millions, divided among forty smaller districts, returned

66. Naturally, the demand grew constantly louder that many districts should be partially or wholly disfranchised or merged with others, and that other districts should receive a larger representation. No attempt, however, was made to meet this demand.

In the Empire, also, a similar problem became yearly more acute. In 1871, Germany was divided into 397 constituencies for the Reichstag. The number remained the same from that time down to the war and, indeed, until the Reichstag disappeared in the convulsions of the closing months of 1918. Not a single district gained or lost in representation. Yet from 1871 to 1914 the population of the Empire increased from about forty-one millions to over sixty-seven millions, and there was a great shifting in population from the country to the cities. One of the divisions of Berlin, with a population of 697,000, elected one representative, whereas the petty principality of Waldeck, with a population of 59,000, elected one. The 851,000 voters of Greater Berlin returned eight members; the same number of voters in fifty of the smaller constituencies returned forty-eight. A reform of these gross inequalities was widely demanded, but the demand passed unheeded.

Another subject much discussed during the later years of the Empire was that concerning ministerial responsibility. The indiscretions of Emperor William II made this from time to time a burning question. An interview with him, in which he spoke with great freedom of the strained relations between Germany and Great Britain, was published in the London *Telegraph* on October 28, 1908. At once was seen a phenomenon not witnessed in Germany since the founding of the Empire.

There was a violent protest against the irresponsible actions of the Emperor, actions subject to no control, and yet easily capable of bringing about a war. Newspapers of all shades of party affiliation displayed a freedom of utterance and of censure unparalleled in Germany. All parties in the Reichstag expressed their emphatic disapproval. The incident, however, was not sufficient to bring about the introduction of the system of the responsibility of ministers for all the acts of the monarch, and the control of the ministry by the majority of the Reichstag; in short, the parliamentary system in its essential feature.

Neither in the Empire, nor in the Kingdom of Prussia, nor in any of the other states that composed the Empire, did the elected chamber control the Government. In every case the Prince had an absolute veto. Where there were second chambers, as in many of the states, they were not elected by the voters, but were either based on heredity or on appointment by the ruler or by certain narrow organizations. In any case the second chambers were a bulwark of a privileged class. And in Prussia, as we have seen, even the so-called popular house was merely another name for a privileged class. Neither in the Empire nor in the individual states were the ministers controlled by the popular assemblies. The assemblies might vote a lack of confidence as often as they felt like it. The ministers would go right on as long as the Emperor, King, Grand Duke, or Prince desired. In none of the German states could the constitution be amended without the consent of the sovereign of that state. The constitution of the Empire could not be amended without the consent of one man, William II, for a constitutional

amendment must be passed not only by the Reichstag but by the Bundesrath, and the constitution provided that no amendment could pass the Bundesrath if fourteen votes were cast against it. In that body Prussia had seventeen votes and those votes were cast as the King of Prussia directed. If every individual in Germany except this one, and including the other Kings and Dukes, had desired a change in the constitution they could not have secured it if William II said "No"!

The power of the Prussian crown was virtually absolute—"absolutism under constitutional forms," as Rudolph Gneist, once considered in Germany a great authority on public law, said years ago. In the economic sphere Germany was enterprising, progressive, successful, highly modern: in the intellectual sphere she was active and productive; but in the political sphere she was in a state of arrested development. And it had been the amazing triumphs of Bismarck, which rested on force, that had caused the arrest. German legislatures were impotent and ineffective. For all practical purposes the Reichstag was merely a debating club, and a debating club that had no power of seeing that its will was carried out. As late as January, 1914, Dr. Friedrich Naumann, of "Middle Europe" fame, described the humiliating position of the body of which he was a member in the following words:

"We on the Left are altogether in favor of the parliamentary régime, by which we mean that the Reichstag cannot forever remain in a position of subordination. Why does the Reichstag sit at all, why does it pass resolutions, if behind it is a waste paper basket into which these resolutions are thrown? The problem is to change the im-

potence of the Reichstag into some sort of power. . . . The man who compared this House to a hall of echoes was not far wrong. . . . When one asks the question, 'What part has the Reichstag in German history as a whole?' it will be seen that the part is a very limited one."

The effective seat of political power in Germany was, as it had always been, in the monarchs. Germans might have the right to vote, but of what value was it if the vote led nowhere, if the body elected by the voters was carefully and completely nullified by other bodies, aristocratic hereditary upper chambers and the princes, over which the voters had no control whatever?

Prussia was the strongest obstacle the democratic movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries encountered. Germany in 1914 was less liberal than in 1848. The most serious blow that the principle of representative government received during that century was the one she received at the hands of Bismarck. We have expert testimony of the highest and most official sort that the effects of that blow were not outlived. Prince von Bülow, writing in 1914, said: "Liberalism, in spite of its change of attitude in national questions, has to this day not recovered from the catastrophic defeat which Prince Bismarck inflicted nearly half a century ago on the party of progress which still clings to the ideals and principles of 1848."

The situation was still further defined by the utterance of Professor Delbrück, successor to Treitschke in the chair of modern history in the University of Berlin, who wrote in a book published in 1914, "Anyone who has any familiarity with all our officers and generals

knows that it would take another Sedan, inflicted on us instead of by us, before they would acquiesce in the control of the Army by the German Parliament." Here was a very clear indication as to where real power lay in Germany. One has only to recall the great chapters in English history which tell of the struggle for liberty to know that it has been obtained solely by the recognition of the supremacy of Parliament over royal prerogative, over military power.

The German state was the most autocratic in Western Europe; it was also the most militaristic. Fundamental individual liberties, regarded as absolutely vital in England, France, America and many other states, had never been possessed by Germans, nor were they possessed in 1914. Germany was rich, vigorous, powerful, instructed. It was not free. A military monarchy is the very opposite of a democratic state. Prince von Bülow says, in his recent book, " Imperial Germany," " Despite the abundance of merits and the great qualities with which the German nation is endowed, political talent has been denied it." Any citizen of a free country knows that that talent grows only where an opportunity has been given it to grow. It need occasion no surprise that Mommsen, the historian of Rome, writing in 1903, should say of his own country, " There are no longer free citizens." Instead there were industrious, energetic, educated, ambitious, and submissive subjects.

CHAPTER IV

FRANCE UNDER THE THIRD REPUBLIC

The Third Republic was proclaimed, as we have seen, by the Parisians on September 4, 1870, after the news of the disaster of Sedan had reached the capital. A Provisional Government of National Defense was immediately installed. This government gave way in February, 1871, to a National Assembly of 750 members elected by universal suffrage for a single purpose, to make peace with Germany. A majority of the members of this National Assembly, which met first at Bordeaux, were Monarchists. The reason was that the monarchical candidates favored the making of a peace, whereas many republican leaders, with Gambetta at their head, wished to continue the war. The mass of the peasants desiring peace therefore voted for the peace candidates. There is nothing to show that thereby they expressed a wish for monarchy. The Assembly of Bordeaux made the peace, ceding Alsace and Lorraine, and assuming the enormous war indemnity. But peace did not return to France as a result of the Treaty of Frankfort. The "Terrible Year," as the French call it, of 1870-71, had more horrors in store. Civil war followed the war with the Germans, shorter but exceeding it in ferocity, a war between those in control of the city of Paris and the Government of France as represented by the Assembly

of Bordeaux. That Assembly had chosen Thiers as "Chief of the Executive Power," pending "the nation's decision as to the definitive form of government." Thus the fundamental question was postponed. Thiers was chosen for no definite term; he was the servant of the Assembly to carry out its wishes, and might be dismissed by it at any moment.

The Commune

Between the Government and the people of Paris serious disagreements immediately arose, which led quickly to the war of the Commune. Paris had proclaimed the Republic. But the Republic was not yet sanctioned by France, and existed only *de facto*. On the other hand, the National Assembly was controlled by Monarchists, and it had postponed the determination of the permanent institutions of the country. Did not this simply mean that it would abolish the Republic and proclaim the Monarchy, when it should judge the moment propitious? This fear, only too well justified, that the Assembly was hostile to the Republic, was the fundamental cause of the Commune. Paris lived in daily dread of this event. Paris was ardently Republican. For ten years under the Empire it had been returning Republicans to the Chamber of Deputies. These men did not propose to let a *coup d'état* like that of Louis Napoleon in 1851 occur again. Various acts of the Assembly were well adapted to deepen and intensify the feeling of dread uncertainty. The Assembly showed its distrust of Paris by voting in March, 1871, that it would henceforth sit in Versailles. In other words, a small and sleepy town, and one associated with the history of monarchy, was to be the capi-

tal of France instead of the great city which had sustained the tremendous siege and by her self-sacrifice and suffering had done her best to hold high the honor of the land. Not only was Paris wounded in her pride by this act, which showed such unmistakable suspicion of her, but she suffered also in her material interests at a time of great financial distress. The Government did nothing to relieve this distress, but greatly accentuated it by several unwise measures.

There was in Paris a considerable population having diverse revolutionary tendencies, anarchists, Jacobins, Socialists—whose leaders worked with marked success among the restless, poverty-stricken masses of the great city. Out of this unrest it was easy for an insurrection to grow. The insurrectionary spirit spread with great rapidity until it developed into a war between Paris and the Versailles Government. Attempts at solving the difficulties by conciliation having failed, the Government undertook to subdue the city. This necessitated a regular siege of Paris, the second of that unhappy city within a year. This time, however, the siege was conducted by Frenchmen, the Germans, who controlled the forts to the north of Paris, looking on. It lasted nearly two months, from April 2 to May 21, when the Versailles troops forced their entrance into the city. Then followed seven days' ferocious fighting in the streets, the Communists more and more desperate and frenzied, the Versailles army more and more revengeful and sanguinary. This was the "Bloody Week," during which Paris suffered much more than she had from the bombardment of the Germans—a week of fearful destruction of life and property. The horrors of incendiarism were added to those

of slaughter. Finally the awful agony was brought to a close. The revenge taken by the Government was heavy. It punished right and left summarily. Many were shot on the spot without any form of trial. Arrests and trials went on for years. Thousands were sent to tropical penal colonies. Other thousands were sentenced to hard labor. The rage of this monarchical assembly was slow in subsiding.

The Government of Thiers

Having put down the insurrection of Paris and signed the hard treaty with Germany, France was at peace. The Republicans thought that the Assembly ought now to dissolve, arguing that it had been elected to make peace, and nothing else. The Assembly decided, however, that it had full powers of legislation on all subjects, including the right to make the Constitution. The Assembly remained in power for nearly five years, refusing to dissolve.

But before taking up the difficult work of making a constitution it coöperated for two years with Thiers in the necessary work of reorganization. The most imperative task was that of getting the Germans out of the country. Under the skilful leadership of Thiers, the payment of the enormous war indemnity, five billion francs, was undertaken with energy and carried out with celerity. In September, 1873, the last installment was paid and the last German soldiers went home. The soil of France was freed nearly six months earlier than was provided by the treaty. For his great services in this initial work of reconstruction the National Assembly voted that

Thiers had "deserved well of the country" and the people spontaneously acclaimed him as "The Liberator of the Territory."

The reconstruction of the army was also urgent and was undertaken in the same spirit of patriotism, entailing heavy personal sacrifices. A law was passed in 1872 instituting compulsory military service. Five years of service in the active army were henceforth to be required in most cases. The law really established in France the Prussian military system, so successful in crushing all opponents. We now see the beginning of that oppressive militarism which has become the most characteristic feature of contemporary Europe. Other nations considered that they were forced to imitate Prussia in order to assure their own safety in the future. In the case of France the necessity was entirely obvious.

In this work of reconstruction the Assembly and Thiers were able to work together on the whole harmoniously. Now that this was accomplished the Monarchists of the Assembly resolved to abolish the Republic and restore the Monarchy. They soon found that they had in Thiers a man who would not abet them in their project. Thiers was originally a believer in constitutional monarchy, but he was not afraid of a republican government, and during the years after 1870 he came to believe that a Republic was, for France, at the close of a turbulent century, the only possible form of government. "There is," he said, "only one throne, and there are three claimants for a seat on it." He discovered a happy formula in favor of the Republic: "It is the form of government which divides us least." And again, "Those parties who want a monarchy, do not want the same monarchy."

By which phrases he accurately described a curious situation. The Monarchists, while they constituted a majority of the Assembly, were divided into three parties, no one of which was in the majority. There were Legitimists, Orleanists, and Bonapartists. The Legitimists upheld the right of the grandson of Charles X, the Count of Chambord; the Orleanists, the right of the grandson of Louis Philippe, the Count of Paris; the Bonapartists, of Napoleon III, or his son. The Monarchist parties could unite to prevent a definite legal establishment of the Republic; they could not unite to establish the monarchy, as each wing wished a different monarch. Out of this division arose the only chance the Third Republic had to live. As the months went by, the Monarchists felt that Thiers was becoming constantly more of a republican, which was true. If a monarchical restoration was to be attempted, therefore, Thiers must be gotten out of the way. Consequently, in May, 1873, the Assembly forced him to resign and immediately elected Marshal MacMahon president to prepare the way for the coming monarch.

The Framing of the Constitution

Earnest attempts were made forthwith to bring about a restoration of the monarchy. This could be done by a fusion of the Legitimists and the Orleanists. Circumstances were particularly favorable for the accomplishment of such a union. The Count of Chambord had no direct descendants. The inheritance would, therefore, upon his death, pass to the House of Orleans, represented by the Count of Paris. The elder branch would

in the course of nature be succeeded by the younger. This fusion seemed accomplished when the Count of Paris visited the Count of Chambord, recognizing him as head of the family. A committee of nine members of the Assembly, representing the Monarchist parties, the Imperialists holding aloof, negotiated during the summer of 1873 with the "King" concerning the terms of restoration. The negotiations were successful on most points, and it seemed as if by the close of the year the existence of the Republic would be terminated and Henry V would be reigning in France. The Republic was saved by the devotion of the Count of Chambord to a symbol. He stated that he would never renounce the ancient Bourbon banner. "Henry V could never abandon the white flag of Henry IV," he had already declared, and from that resolution he never swerved. The tricolor represented the Revolution. If he was to be King of France it must be with his principles and his flag; King of the Revolution he would never consent to be. The Orleanists, on the other hand, adhered to the tricolor, knowing its popularity with the people, knowing that no régime that repudiated the glorious symbol could long endure. Against this barrier the attempted fusion of the two branches of the Bourbon family was shattered. The immediate danger to the Republic was over.

But the Monarchists did not renounce their hope of restoring the monarchy. The Count of Chambord might, perhaps, change his mind; if not, as he had no son, the Count of Paris would succeed him after his death as the lawful claimant to the throne; and the Count of Paris, defender of the tricolor, could then be proclaimed. The Monarchists, therefore, planned merely to gain time.

Marshal MacMahon had been chosen executive, as had Thiers, for no definite term. He was to serve during the pleasure of the Assembly itself. Believing that MacMahon would resign as soon as the King really appeared, they voted that his term should be for seven years, expecting that a period of that length would see a clearing up of the situation, either the change of mind or the death of the Count of Chambord. Thus was established the Septennate, or seven-year term, of the President, which still exists. The presidency was thus given a fixed term by the Monarchists, as they supposed, in their own interests. If they could not restore the monarchy in 1873 they could at least control the presidency for a considerable period, and thus prepare an easy transition to the new system at the opportune moment.

But France showed unmistakably that she desired the establishment of a definitive system, that she wished to be through with these provisional arrangements, which only kept party feeling feverish and handicapped France in her foreign relations. France had as yet no constitution, and yet this Assembly, chosen to make peace, had asserted that it was also chosen to frame a constitution, and it was by this assertion that it justified its continuance in power long after peace was made. Yet month after month, and year after year, went by and the constitution was not made, nor even seriously discussed. If the Assembly could not, or would not, make a constitution, it should relinquish its power and let the people elect a body that would. But this it steadily refused to do.

This inability of the Monarchists to act owing to their own internal divisions was of advantage to only one party, the Republican. More and more people who had

hitherto been Monarchists, now finally convinced that a restoration of the monarchy was impracticable, joined the Republican party, and thus it came about finally in 1875 that the Assembly decided to make the constitution. It did not, as previous assemblies had done, draw up a single document, defining the organization and narrating the rights of the citizens. It passed three separate laws which taken together were to serve as a constitution. By these laws a legislature was established consisting of two houses, a Senate, consisting of 300 members, at least forty years of age and chosen for nine years, and a Chamber of Deputies, to be elected by universal suffrage for a term of four years. These two houses meeting together as a National Assembly elect the President of the Republic. There is no vice-president, no succession provided by law. In case of a vacancy in the presidency the National Assembly meets immediately, generally within forty-eight hours, and elects a new President. The President has the right to initiate legislation, as have the members of the two houses, the duty to promulgate all laws and to superintend their execution, the pardoning power, the direction of the army and navy, and the appointment to all civil and military positions. He may, with the consent of the Senate, dissolve the Chamber of Deputies before the expiration of its legal term and order a new election. But these powers are merely nominal, for the reason that every act of the President must be countersigned by a minister, who thereby becomes responsible for the act, the President being irresponsible, except in the case of high treason.

For the fundamental feature of the Third Republic, differentiating it greatly from the two preceding republics

of France and from the republic of the United States, is its adoption of the parliamentary system as worked out in England. The President's position resembles that of a constitutional monarch. All his acts must be countersigned by his ministers, who become thereby responsible for them. The ministers in turn are responsible to the chambers, particularly to the Chamber of Deputies. The Chamber thus controls the executive, makes and unmakes ministries as it chooses. The legislature controls the executive. The legislative and executive branches are thus fused as in England, not sharply separated as in the United States. The essential feature therefore of this republic is that it has adopted the governmental machinery first elaborated in a monarchy. The Constitution of 1875 was a compromise between opposing forces, neither of which could win an unalloyed victory. The monarchical assembly that established the parliamentary republic in 1875 thought that it had introduced sufficient monarchical elements into it to curb the aggressiveness of democracy and to facilitate a restoration of the monarchy at some convenient season. The Senate, it thought, would be a monarchical stronghold and the President and Senate could probably keep the Chamber of Deputies in check by their power of dissolving it.

It was some years before the Republicans secured unmistakable control of the Republic in all its branches. In the first elections under the new constitution, which were held at the beginning of 1876, the Monarchists secured a slight majority in the Senate, the Republicans a large majority in the Chamber of Deputies. It was generally supposed that the President, MacMahon, was a Monarchist in his sympathies. This was shown to be

the case when MacMahon in May, 1877, dismissed the Simon ministry, which was Republican and which had the support of the Chamber, and appointed a new ministry, composed largely of Monarchists under the Duke of Broglie. Thereupon, the Senate, representing the same views, consented to the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, and new elections were ordered.

The Monarchists carried on a vigorous campaign against the Republicans. They were powerfully supported by the clerical party, which, ever since 1871, had been extremely active. The Republicans resented this intrusion of the Catholic party, and their opinion of it had been vividly expressed some time before by Gambetta in the phase—"Clericalism, that is our enemy," meaning that the Roman Catholic Church was the most dangerous opponent of the Republic. The struggle was embittered. The Broglie ministry used every effort to influence the votes against Gambetta and the Republicans. The clergy took an active part in the campaign, supporting the Broglie candidates and preaching against the Republicans, conduct which in the end was to cost them dear.

The Republicans were, however, overwhelmingly victorious. In the following year, 1878, they also gained control of the Senate, and in 1879 they brought about the resignation of MacMahon. The National Assembly immediately met and elected Jules Grévy president, a man whose devotion to Republican principles had been known to France for thirty years. For the first time since 1871 the Republicans controlled the Chamber of Deputies, the Senate, and the Presidency. Since that time the Republic has been entirely in the hands of the Republicans.

The Republicans, now completely victorious, sought by constructive legislation to consolidate the Republic. Two personalities stand out with particular prominence: Gambetta, as president of the Chamber of Deputies, and Jules Ferry, as member of several ministries and as twice prime minister. The legislation enacted during this period aimed to clinch the victory over the Monarchists and Clericals by making the institutions of France thoroughly republican and secular. The seat of government was transferred from Versailles, where it had been since 1871, to Paris (1880), and July 14, the day of the storming of the Bastille, symbol of the triumph of the people over the monarchy, was declared the national holiday, and was celebrated for the first time in 1880 amid great enthusiasm. The right of citizens freely to hold public meetings as they might wish, and without any preliminary permission of the Government, was secured, as was also a practically unlimited freedom of the press (1881). Workingmen were permitted, for the first time, freely to form trades unions (1884).

The Republicans were particularly solicitous about education. As universal suffrage was the basis of the State, it was considered fundamental that the voters should be intelligent. Education was regarded as the strongest bulwark of the Republic. Several laws were passed, concerning all grades of education, but the most important were those concerning primary schools. A law of 1881 made primary education gratuitous; one of 1882 made it compulsory between the ages of six and thirteen, and later laws made it entirely secular. No religious instruction is given in these schools. All teachers are appointed from the laity. This system of popular education is one

of the great creative achievements of the Republic, and one of the most fruitful.

Under the masterful influence of Jules Ferry, prime minister in 1881, and again from 1883 to 1885, the Republic embarked upon an aggressive colonial policy. She established a protectorate over Tunis; sent expeditions to Tonkin, to Madagascar; founded the French Congo. This policy aroused bitter criticism from the beginning, and entailed large expenditures, but Ferry, regardless of growing opposition, forced it through, in the end to his own undoing. His motives in throwing France into these ventures were various. One reason was economic. France was feeling the rivalry of Germany and Italy, and Ferry believed that she must win new markets as compensation for those she was gradually losing. Again, France would gain in prestige abroad, and in her own feeling of contentment, if she turned her attention to empire-building and ceased to think morbidly of her losses in the German war. Her outlook would be broader. Moreover, she could not afford to be passive when other nations about her were reaching out for Africa and Asia. The era of imperialism had begun. France must participate in the movement or be left hopelessly behind in the rivalry of nations. Under Ferry's resolute leadership the policy of expansion was carried out, and the colonial possessions of France were greatly increased, but owing to one or two slight reverses, grossly magnified by his enemies, Ferry himself became unpopular and his notable ministry was overthrown (1885).

During the next few years the political situation was troubled and uncertain. There was no commanding personality in politics to give elevation and sweep to men's

ideas. Gambetta had died in 1882 at the age of forty-four and Ferry, the empire-builder, was most unjustly the victim of unpopularity from which he never recovered. Ministries succeeded each other rapidly. Politics seemed a game of office seeking, pettily personal, not an arena in which men of large ideas could live and act. The educational and anti-clerical and colonial policies all aroused enmities. President Grévy even was forced to resign because of a scandal that did not compromise him personally, but did smirch his son-in-law. Carnot, a moderate Republican, was chosen to succeed him (December 3, 1887).

This state of discontent and disillusionment created a real crisis for the Republic, as it encouraged its enemies to renewed activity. These elements now found a leader or a tool in General Boulanger, a dashing figure on horseback and an attractive speaker, who sought to use the popular discontent for his own advancement. Made minister of war in 1886, he showed much activity, seeking the favor of the soldiers by improving the conditions of life in the barracks, and by advocating the reduction of the required term of service. He controlled several newspapers, which began to insinuate that under his leadership France could take her revenge upon Germany by a successful war upon that country. He posed as the rescuer of the Republic, demanding a total revision of the constitution. His programme, as announced, was vague, but probably aimed at the diminution of the importance of Parliament, the conferring of great powers upon the President, and his election directly by the people, which he hoped would be favorable to himself. For three years his personality was a storm center. Discontented people

of the most varied shades flocked to his support—Monarchists, Imperialists, Clericals, hoping to use him to overturn the Republic. These parties contributed money to the support of his campaign, which was ably managed with the view to focusing popular attention upon him. To show the popular enthusiasm Boulanger now became a candidate for Parliament in many districts where vacancies occurred. In five months (1888) he was elected deputy six times. A seventh election in Paris itself, in January, 1889, resulted in a brilliant triumph. He was elected by over 80,000 majority. Would he dare take the final step and attempt to seize power, as two Bonapartes had done before him? He did not have the requisite audacity to try. In the face of this imminent danger the Republicans ceased their dissensions and stood together. They assumed the offensive. The ministry summoned Boulanger to appear before the Senate, sitting as a High Court of Justice, to meet the charge of conspiring against the safety of the State. His boldness vanished. He fled from the country to Belgium. He was condemned by the court in his absence. His party fell to pieces, its leader proving so little valorous. Two years later he committed suicide. The Republic had weathered a serious crisis. It came out of it stronger rather than weaker. Its opponents were discredited.

In 1892 a very important diplomatic achievement still further strengthened the Republic. An alliance was made with Russia which ended the long period of isolation in which France had been made to feel her powerlessness during the twenty years since the Franco-Prussian war. This Dual Alliance henceforth served as a counterweight to the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy,

and satisfied the French people, as well as increased their sense of safety and their confidence in the future.

In 1894 President Carnot was assassinated. Casimir-Périer was chosen to succeed him, but resigned after six months. Félix Faure was elected in his place, who, however, died in office in 1899, having seen the strengthening of the alliance with Russia and the beginning of the Dreyfus case, a scandal which eclipsed that of Boulanger and created a new crisis for the Republic. Faure was succeeded in the presidency by Émile Loubet.

The Dreyfus Case

In October, 1894, Dreyfus, a Jewish officer in the army, was arrested amid circumstances of unusual secrecy, was brought before a court-martial, and was condemned as guilty of treason, of transmitting important documents to a foreign power, presumably Germany. The trial was secret and the condemnation rested on merely circumstantial evidence, involving the identity of handwriting, declared to be his. He was condemned to expulsion from the army and to imprisonment for life. In January, 1895, he was publicly degraded in a most dramatic manner in the courtyard of the Military School, before a large detachment of the army. His stripes were torn from his uniform, his sword was broken. Throughout this agonizing scene he was defiant, asserted his innocence, and shouted *"Vive la France!"* He was then deported to a small, barren, and unhealthy island off French Guiana, in South America, appropriately called Devil's Island, and was there kept in solitary confinement. A life imprisonment under such conditions would

probably not be long, though it would certainly be horrible.

The friends of Dreyfus protested that a monstrous wrong had been done, but their protests passed unheeded. But in 1896 Colonel Picquart, head of the detective bureau of the General Staff, discovered that the incriminating document was not in the handwriting of Dreyfus but of a certain Major Esterhazy, who was shortly shown to be one of the most abandoned characters in the army. Picquart's superior officers were not grateful for his efforts, fearing apparently that the honor of the army would be smirched if the verdict of the court-martial was shown to be wrong. They, therefore, removed him from his position and appointed Colonel Henry in his place.

In January, 1898, Émile Zola, the well-known novelist, published a letter of great boldness and brilliancy, in which he made most scathing charges against the judges of the court-martial, not only for injustice but for dishonesty. Many men of reputation in literature and scholarship joined in the discussion, on the side of Dreyfus. Zola hoped to force a reopening of the whole question. Instead he was himself condemned by a court to imprisonment and fine. Shortly Henry committed suicide, having been charged with forging one of the important documents in the case. His suicide was considered a confession of guilt. So greatly disturbed were the people by these scandalous events that public opinion forced the reopening of the whole case. Dreyfus, prematurely old as a result of fearful physical and mental suffering, was brought from Devil's Island and given a new trial before a court-martial at Rennes in August, 1899.

This new trial was conducted in the midst of the most

excited state of the public mind in France, and of intense interest abroad. Party passions were inflamed as they had not been in France since the Commune. The supporters of Dreyfus were denounced frantically as slanderers of the honor of the army, the very bulwark of the safety of the country, as traitors to France.

At the Rennes tribunal, Dreyfus encountered the violent hostility of the high army officers, who had been his accusers five years before. These men were desperately resolved that he should again be found guilty. The trial was of an extraordinary character. It was the evident purpose of the judges not to allow the matter to be thoroughly probed. Testimony, which in England or America would have been considered absolutely vital, was barred out. The universal opinion outside France was, as was stated in the London *Times*, "that the whole case against Captain Dreyfus, as set forth by the heads of the French army, in plain combination against him, was foul with forgeries, lies, contradictions, and puerilities, and that nothing to justify his condemnation had been shown."

Nevertheless, the court, by a vote of five to two, declared him guilty, "with extenuating circumstances," an amazing verdict. It is not generally held that treason to one's country can plead extenuating circumstances. The court condemned him to ten years' imprisonment, from which the years spent at Devil's Island might be deducted. Thus the "honor" of the army had been maintained.

President Loubet immediately pardoned Dreyfus, and he was released, broken in health. This solution was satisfactory to neither side. The anti-Dreyfusites vented

their rage on Loubet. On the other hand, Dreyfus demanded exoneration, a recognition of his innocence, not pardon.

But the Government was resolved that this discussion, which had so frightfully torn French society, should cease. Against the opposition of the Dreyfusites, it passed, in 1900, an amnesty for all those implicated in the notorious case, which meant that no legal actions could be brought against any of the participants on either side. The friends of Dreyfus, Zola, and Picquart protested vigorously against the erection of a barrier against their vindication. The bill, nevertheless, passed.

Six years later, however, the Dreyfus party attained its vindication. The revision of the whole case was submitted to the Court of Cassation. On July 12, 1906, that body quashed the verdict of the Rennes court-martial. It declared that the charges which had been brought against Dreyfus had no foundation, and that the Rennes court-martial had been guilty of gross injustice in refusing to hear testimony that would have established the innocence of the accused. The case was not to be submitted to another military tribunal, but was closed.

The Government now restored Captain Dreyfus to his rank in the army, or rather, gave him the rank of major, allowing him to count to that end the whole time in which he had been unjustly deprived of his standing. On July 21, 1906, he was invested with a decoration of the Legion of Honor in the very courtyard of the Military School, where, eleven years before, he had been so dramatically degraded. Colonel Picquart was promoted brigadier-general, and shortly became Minister of War. Zola had died in 1903, but in 1908 his body

was transferred to the Pantheon, as symbolizing a kind of civic canonization. Thus ended the "Affair."

The Dreyfus case, originally simply involving the fate of an alleged traitor, had soon acquired a far greater significance. Party and personal ambitions and interests sought to use it for purposes of their own and thus the question of legal right and wrong was woefully distorted and obscured. Those who hated the Jews used it to inflame people against that race, as Dreyfus was a Jew. The Clericals joined them. Monarchists seized the occasion to declare that the Republic was an egregious failure, breeding treason, and ought to be abolished. On the other hand, there rallied to the defense of Dreyfus those who believed in his innocence, those who denounced the hatred of a race as a relic of barbarism, those who believed that the military should be subordinate to the civil authority and should not regard itself as above the law as these army officers were doing, those who believed that the whole episode was merely a hidden and dangerous attack upon the Republic, and all who believed that the clergy should keep out of politics.

The chief result of this memorable struggle in the domain of politics was to unite more closely Republicans of every shade in a common programme, to make them resolve to reduce the political importance of the army and of the Church. The former was easily done, by removals of monarchist officers. The attempt to solve the latter much more subtle and elusive problem led to the next great struggle in the recent history of France, the struggle with the Church.

The Separation of Church and State

This new controversy assumed prominence under the premiership of Waldeck-Rousseau, a leader of the Parisian bar, a former follower of Gambetta. In October, 1900, he made a speech at Toulouse which resounded throughout France. The real peril confronting the country he said, arose from the growing power of religious orders—orders of monks and nuns—and from the character of the teaching given by them in the religious schools they were conducting. He pointed out that here was a power within the State which was a rival of the State and fundamentally hostile to the State. These orders, moreover, although not authorized under the laws of France, were growing rapidly in wealth and numbers. Between 1877 and 1900 the number of nuns had increased from 14,000 to 75,000, in orders not authorized. The monks numbered about 190,000. The property of these orders, held in mortmain, estimated at about 50,000,000 francs in the middle of the century, had risen to 700,000,000 in 1880, and was more than a billion francs in 1900. Here was a vast amount of wealth, withdrawn from ordinary processes of business, an economic danger of the first importance. But the most serious feature was the activity of these orders in teaching and preaching, for that teaching was declared to be hostile to the Republic and to the principles of liberty and equality on which the Republicans of France have insisted ever since the French Revolution. In other words, these church schools were doing their best to make their pupils hostile to the Republic and to republican ideals. There was a danger to the State which Parliament must face.

To preserve the Republic, defensive measures must be taken. Holding this opinion, the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry secured the passage, July 1, 1901, of the Law of Associations, which provided, among other things, that no religious orders should exist in France without definite authorization in each case from Parliament. It was the belief of the authors of this bill that the Roman Catholic Church was the enemy of the Republic, that it was using its every agency against the Republic, that it had latterly supported the anti-Dreyfus party in its attempt to discredit the institutions of France, as it had done formerly under MacMahon. Gambetta had, at that time, declared that *the* enemy was the clerical party. "Clericalism," said Combes, who succeeded Waldeck-Rousseau in 1902, "is, in fact, to be found at the bottom of every agitation and every intrigue from which republican France has suffered during the last thirty-five years."

Animated with this feeling, Combes enforced the Associations Law with rigor in 1902 and 1903. Many orders refused to ask for authorization from Parliament; many which asked were refused. Tens of thousands of monks and nuns were forced to leave their institutions, which were closed. By a law of 1904 it was provided that all teaching by religious orders, even by those authorized, should cease within ten years. The State was to have a monopoly of the education of the young, in the interest of the ideals of liberalism it represented. Combes, upon whom fell the execution of this law, suppressed about five hundred teaching, preaching, and commercial orders. This policy was vehemently denounced by Catholics as persecution, as an infringement upon liberty, the liberty to teach, the liberty of parents to have their chil-

dren educated in denominational schools if they preferred.

This, as events were to prove, was only preliminary to a far greater religious struggle, which ended in the complete separation of Church and State.

The relations of the Roman Catholic Church and the State down to 1905 were determined by the Concordat, concluded between Napoleon I and Pius VII in 1801 and promulgated in the following year. The system then established remained undisturbed throughout the nineteenth century, under the various régimes, but after the advent of the Third Republic there was ceaseless and increasing friction between the Church and the State. The opposition of the Republicans was augmented by the activity of the clergy in the Dreyfus affair. Consequently a law was finally passed, December 9, 1905, which abrogated the Concordat. The State was henceforth not to pay the salaries of the clergy; on the other hand, it relinquished all rights over their appointment. It undertook to pay pensions to clergymen who had served many years, and were already well advanced in age; also to pay certain amounts to those who had been in the priesthood for a few years only. In regard to the property, which since 1789 had been declared to be owned by the nation, the cathedrals, churches, chapels, it was provided that these should still be at the free disposal of the Roman Catholic Church, but that they should be held and managed by so-called " Associations of Worship," which were to vary in size according to the population of the community.

This law was condemned unreservedly by the Pope, Piux X, who declared that the fundamental principle of

separation of Church and State is "an absolutely false thesis, a very pernicious error," and who denounced the Associations of Worship as giving the administrative control, not "to the divinely instituted hierarchy, but to an association of laymen." The Pope's decision was final and conclusive for all Catholics, as it was based on fundamentals and flatly rejected the law of 1905.

Parliament, therefore, passed a new law, early in 1907, supplementary to the law of 1905. By it most of the privileges guaranteed the Roman Catholic Church by the law of 1905 were abrogated. The critical point in the new law was the method of keeping the churches open for religious exercises and so avoiding all the appearance of persecution and all the scandal and uproar that would certainly result if the churches of France were closed. It was provided that their use should be gratuitous and should be regulated by contracts between the priests and the prefects or mayors. These contracts would safeguard the civil ownership of the buildings, but worship would go on in them as before. This system is at present in force.

The result of this series of events and measures is that Church and State are now definitely separated. The people have apparently approved in recent elections the policy followed by their Government. Bishops and priests no longer receive salaries from the State. On the other hand, they have liberties which they did not enjoy under the Concordat, such as rights of assembly and freedom from government participation in appointments. The faithful must henceforth support their priests and bear the expenses of the Church by private contributions. The

church buildings, however, have been left to their use by the irrational but practical device just described.

Acquisition of Colonies in the Nineteenth Century

France, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had possessed an extensive colonial empire. This she had lost to England as a result of the wars of the reign of Louis XV, the Revolution, and the Napoleonic period, and in 1815 her possessions had shrunk to a few small points, Guadaloupe and Martinique in the West Indies, St. Pierre and Miquelon, off Newfoundland, five towns on the coast of India, of which Pondicherry was the best known; Bourbon, now called Réunion, an island in the Indian Ocean; Guiana in South America, which had few inhabitants, and Senegal in Africa. These were simply melancholy souvenirs of her once proud past, rags and tatters of a once imposing empire.

In the nineteenth century she was destined to begin again, and to create an empire of vast geographical extent, only second in importance to that of Great Britain, though vastly inferior to that. The interest in conquests revived but slowly after 1815. France had conquered so much in Europe from 1792 to 1812 only to lose it as she had lost her colonies, that conquest in any form seemed but a futile and costly display of misdirected enterprise. Nevertheless, in time the process began anew, and each of the various régimes which have succeeded one another since 1815 has contributed to the building of the new empire.

The beginning was made in Algeria, on the northern

coast of Africa, directly opposite France, and reached now in less than twenty-four hours from Marseilles. Down to the opening of the nineteenth century, Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli, nominally parts of the Turkish Empire, were in reality independent and constituted the Barbary States, whose main business was piracy. But Europe was no longer disposed to see her wealth seized and her citizens enslaved until she paid their ransom. In 1816 an English fleet bombarded Algiers, released no less than 3,000 Christian captives, and destroyed piracy.

The French conquest of Algeria grew out of a gross insult administered by the Dey to a French consul in 1830. France replied by sending a fleet to seize the capital, Algiers. She did not at that time intend the conquest of the whole country, but merely the punishment of an insolent Dey, but attacks being made upon her from time to time which she felt she must crush, she was led on, step by step, until she had everywhere established her power. All through the reign of Louis Philippe this process was going on. Its chief feature was an intermittent struggle of fourteen years with a native leader, Abd-el-Kader, who proclaimed and fought a Holy War against the intruder. In the end (1847) he was forced to surrender, and France had secured an important territory.

Under Napoleon III, the beginning of conquest in another part of Africa was made. France had possessed, since the time of Louis XIII and Richelieu, one or two miserable ports on the western coast, St. Louis the most important. Under Napoleon III, the annexation of the Senegal valley was largely carried through by the efforts of the governor, Faidherbe, who later distinguished himself in the Franco-German war. Under Napoleon III

also, a beginning was made in another part of the world, in Asia. The persecution of Christian natives, and the murder of certain French missionaries gave Napoleon the pretext to attack the King of Annam, whose kingdom was in the peninsula that juts out from southeastern Asia. After eight years of intermittent fighting France acquired from the king the whole of Cochin-China (1858-67), and also established a protectorate over the Kingdom of Cambodia, directly north.

Thus, by 1870, France had staked out an empire of about 700,000 square kilometers, containing a population of about six million.

Under the present Republic the work of expansion and consolidation has been carried much farther than under all of the preceding régimes. There have been extensive annexations in northern Africa, western Africa, the Indian Ocean, and in Indo-China.

In northern Africa, Tunis has passed under the control of France. This was one of the Barbary States, and was nominally a part of the Turkish Empire, with a Bey as sovereign. After establishing herself in Algeria, France desired to extend her influence eastward, over this neighboring state. But Italy, now united, began about 1870 to entertain a similar ambition. France, therefore, under the ministry of Jules Ferry, an ardent believer in colonial expansion, sent troops into Tunis in 1881, which forced the Bey to accept a French protectorate over his state. The French have not annexed Tunis formally, but they control it absolutely through a *Resident* at the court of the Bey, whose advice the latter is practically obliged to follow.

In western Africa, France has made extensive annexations in Senegal, in Guinea, Dahomey, the Ivory Coast, and the region of the Niger, and north of the Congo. By occupying the oases in the Sahara she has established her claims to that vast but hitherto unproductive area. This process has covered many years of the present Republic. The result is the existence of French authority over most of northwest Africa, from Algeria on the Mediterranean, to the Congo River. This region south of Algeria is called the French Soudan, and comprises an area seven or eight times as large as France, with a population of some fourteen millions, mainly blacks. There is some discussion of a Trans-Saharan railroad to bind these African possessions more closely together.

In Asia, the Republic has imposed her protectorate over the Kingdom of Annam (1883) and has annexed Tonkin, taken from China after considerable fighting (1885). In the Indian Ocean, she has conquered Madagascar, an island larger than France herself, with a population of two and a half million. A protectorate was imposed upon that country in 1895, after ten years of disturbance, but after quelling a rebellion that broke out the following year, the protectorate was abolished, and the island was made a French colony.

Thus at the opening of the twentieth century the colonial empire of France is eleven times larger than France itself, has an area of six million square kilometers, a population of about fifty millions, and a rapidly growing commerce. Most of this empire is

located in the tropics and is ill-adapted to the settlement of Europeans. Algeria and Tunis, however, offer conditions favorable for such settlements. They constitute the most valuable French possessions. Algeria is not considered a colony, but an integral part of France. It is divided into three departments, each one of which sends one senator and two deputies to the chambers of the French Parliament.

On March 30, 1912, France established a protectorate over Morocco. For several years the status of that country had been one of the contentious problems of international politics. France had desired to gain control of it in order to round out her empire in northwestern Africa. In 1904 she had made an agreement with England whereby a far-reaching diplomatic revolution in Europe was inaugurated. This was largely the work of Théophile Delcassé, minister of foreign affairs for seven years, from 1898 to 1905, one of the ablest statesmen the Third Republic has produced. Delcassé believed that France would be able to show a more independent and self-respecting foreign policy, one freer from German domination and intimidation, if her relations with Italy and England, severely strained for many years, largely owing to colonial rivalries and jealousies, could be made cordial and friendly. This he was able to accomplish by arranging a treaty of commerce favorable to Italy and by promising Italy a free hand in Tripoli and receiving from her the assurance that she would do nothing to hamper French policy in Morocco, a country of special significance to France because of her possession of Algeria.

More important was the reconciliation with England. The relations of these two neighbors had long been difficult and, at times, full of danger. Indeed, in 1898 they had stood upon the very brink of war when a French expedition under Marchand had crossed Africa and had seized Fashoda on the Upper Nile in the sphere of influence which Great Britain considered emphatically hers. The Fashoda incident ended in the withdrawal of the French before the resolute attitude of England. The lesson of this incident was not lost upon either power, and six years later, on April 8, 1904, they signed an agreement which not only removed the sources of friction between them once for all, but which established what came to be known as the Entente Cordiale, destined to great significance in the future. By this agreement France recognized England's special interests in Egypt and abandoned her long-standing demand that England should set a date for the cessation of her "occupation" of that country. On the other hand, England recognized the special interests of France in Morocco and promised not to impede their development.

One power emphatically objected to the determination of the fate of an independent country by these two powers alone. Germany challenged this agreement and asserted that she must herself be consulted in such matters; that her rivals had no right by themselves to preëmpt those regions of the world which might still be considered fields for European colonization or control. German interests must be considered quite as much as French or English.

Germany's peremptory attitude precipitated an international crisis and led to the international Conference of Algeciras in 1906, which was, however, on the whole a victory for France, acknowledging the primacy of her interests in Morocco. As France proceeded to strengthen her position there in the succeeding years, Germany issued another challenge in 1911 by sending a gunboat to Agadir, thus creating another crisis, which for a time threatened a European war. In the end, however, Germany recognized the position of France, but only after the latter had ceded to her extensive territories in Kamerun and the French Congo. For several years, therefore, Morocco was a danger spot in international politics, exerting a disturbing influence upon the relations of European powers to each other, particularly those of France and Germany. Finally, however, the independence of Morocco disappeared and the country was practically incorporated in the colonial empire of France.

CHAPTER V

THE KINGDOM OF ITALY SINCE 1870

The Kingdom of Italy, as we have seen, was established in 1859 and 1860. Venetia was acquired in 1866, and Rome in 1870. In these cases, as in the preceding, the people were allowed to express their wishes by a vote, which, in both instances, was practically unanimous in favor of the annexation.

The Constitution of the new kingdom was the old Constitution of Piedmont, slightly altered. It provided for a parliament of two chambers, a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. The full parliamentary system was introduced, ministers representing the will of the Lower Chamber. The first capital was Turin, then Florence in 1865, and finally Rome since 1871.

The most perplexing question confronting the new kingdom concerned its relations to the Papacy. The Italian Kingdom had seized, by violence, the city of Rome, over which the Popes had ruled in uncontested right for a thousand years. Rome had this peculiarity over all other cities, that it was the capital of Catholics the world over. Any attempt to expel the Pope from the city or to subject him to the House of Savoy would everywhere arouse the faithful, already clamorous, and might cause an intervention

in behalf of the restoration of the temporal power. There were henceforth to be two sovereigns, one temporal, one spiritual, within the same city. The situation was absolutely unique and extremely delicate. It was considered necessary to determine their relations before the government was transferred to Rome. It was impossible to reach any agreement with the Pope, as he refused to recognize the Kingdom of Italy, but spoke of Victor Emmanuel simply as the King of Sardinia, and would make no concessions in regard to his own rights in Rome. Parliament, therefore, assumed to settle the matter alone and passed, May 13, 1871, the Law of Papal Guarantees, a remarkable act defining the relations of Church and State in Italy.

The object of this law was to carry out Cavour's principle of a "free Church in a free State," to reassure Catholics that the new kingdom had no intention of controlling in any way the spiritual activities of the Pope, though taking from him his temporal powers. Any attacks upon him are, by this law, to be punished exactly as are similar attacks upon the King. He has his own diplomatic corps, and receives diplomatic representatives from other countries. Certain places are set apart as entirely under his sovereignty: the Vatican, the Lateran, Castel Gandolfo, and their gardens. Here no Italian official may enter in his official capacity, for Italian law and administration stop outside these limits. In return for the income lost with the temporal power, the Pope is granted 3,225,000 france a year by the Italian Kingdom. This law has been faithfully observed by the

Italian Government, but it has never been accepted by the Pope, nor has the Kingdom of Italy been recognized by him. He considers himself the "prisoner of the Vatican," and since 1870 has not left it to go into the streets of Rome, as he would thereby be tacitly recognizing the existence of another ruler there, the "usurper."

Another difficult problem for the Kingdom was its financial status. The debts of the former Italian states were assumed by it and were large. The nation was also obliged to make large expenditures on the army and the navy, on fortifications, and on public works, particularly on the building of railways, which were essential to the economic prosperity of the country as well as conducive to the strengthening of the sense of common nationality. There were, for several years, large annual deficits, necessitating new loans, which, of course, augmented the public debt. Heroically did successive ministers seek to make both ends meet, not shrinking from new and unpopular taxes, or from the seizure and sale of monastic lands. Success was finally achieved, and in 1879 the receipts exceeded the expenditures.

In 1878 Victor Emmanuel II died and was buried in the Pantheon, one of the few ancient buildings of Rome. Over his tomb is the inscription, "To the Father of his Country." He was succeeded by his son, Humbert I, then thirty-four years of age. A month later Pius IX died, and was succeeded by Leo XIII, at the time of his election sixty-eight years of age. But nothing was changed by this change of personalities. Each maintained the system of his

predecessor. Leo XIII, Pope from 1878 to 1903, following the precedent set by Pius IX, never recognized the Kingdom of Italy, nor did he ever leave the Vatican. He, too, considered himself a prisoner of the "robber king."

Another urgent problem confronting the new kingdom was that of the education of its citizens. This was most imperative if the masses of the people were to be fitted for the freer and more responsible life opened by the political revolution. The preceding governments had grossly neglected this duty. In 1861 over seventy-five per cent of the population of the kingdom were illiterate. In Naples and Sicily, the most backward in development of all the sections of Italy, the number of illiterates exceeded ninety per cent of the population; and in Piedmont and Lombardy, the most advanced sections, one-third of the men and more than half of the women could neither read nor write. In 1877 a compulsory education law was finally passed, but it has not, owing to the expense, been practically enforced. Though Italy has done much during the last thirty years, much remains to be done. Illiteracy, though diminishing, is still widely prevalent. Recent statistics show that forty per cent of the recruits in the army are illiterate.

In 1882 the suffrage was greatly extended. Hitherto limited to those who were twenty-five years of age or over and paid about eight dollars a year in direct taxes, it was now thrown open to all over twenty-one years of age, and the tax qualification was reduced by half; also all men of twenty-one who had had a primary education were given the vote,

whether they could meet the tax qualification or not. The result was that the number of voters was tripled at once, rising from about 600,000 to more than 2,000,000.

In 1912 Italy took a long step toward democracy by making the suffrage almost universal for men, only denying the franchise to those younger than thirty who have neither performed their military service nor learned to read and write. Thus all men over twenty-one, even if illiterate, have the vote if they have served in the army. The number of voters was thus increased from somewhat over three million to more than eight and a half million.

In foreign affairs Italy made an important decision which influenced her course down to 1914. In 1882 she entered into alliance with Germany, and with Austria, her former enemy, and in many respects still her rival. This made the famous Triple Alliance, which has dominated Europe most of the time since it was created. The reasons why Italy entered this combination, highly unnatural for her, considering her ancient hatred of Austria, were various: pique at France for the seizure of Tunis, which Italy herself coveted, dread of French intervention in behalf of the Pope, and a desire to appear as one of the great powers of Europe. The result was that she was forced to spend larger sums upon her army, remodeled along Prussian lines, and her navy, thus disturbing her finances once more.

Italy now embarked upon another expensive and hazardous enterprise, the acquisition of colonies, influenced in this direction by the prevalent fashion,

and by a desire to rank among the world powers. Shut out of Tunis, her natural field, by France, she, in 1885, seized positions on the Red Sea, particularly the port of Massawa. Two years later she consequently found herself at war with Abyssinia. The minister who had inaugurated this movement, Depretis, died in 1887. He was succeeded by Crispi, who threw himself heartily into the colonial scheme, extended the claims of Italy in East Africa, and tried to play off one native leader against another. To the new colony he gave the name of Eritrea. At the same time an Italian protectorate was established over a region in eastern Africa called Somaliland. But all this involved long and expensive campaigns against the natives. Italy was trying to play the rôle of a great power when her resources did not warrant it. The consequence of this aggressive and ambitious military, naval, and colonial policy was the creation anew of a deficit in the state's finances, which increased alarmingly. The deficits of four years amounted to the enormous sum of over seventy-five million dollars, which occasioned heavy new taxes and widespread discontent, which was put down ruthlessly by despotic methods. This policy of aggrandizement led to a war with Abyssinia and to a disaster in 1896 in the battle of Adowa, so crushing as to end the political life of Crispi and to force Italy into more moderate courses. Popular discontent continued. Its cause was the wretchedness of the people, which in turn was largely occasioned by the heavy taxation resulting from these unwise attempts to play an international rôle hopelessly out of pro-

portion to the country's resources. In the south and center the movement took the form of "bread riots," but in the north it was distinctly revolutionary. "Down with the dynasty" was a cry heard there. All these movements were suppressed by the Government, but only after much bloodshed. They indicated widespread distress and dissatisfaction with existing conditions.

In July, 1900, King Humbert was assassinated by an Italian anarchist, who went to Italy for that purpose from Paterson, New Jersey. Humbert was succeeded by his son Victor Emmanuel III, then in his thirty-first year.

The new King had been carefully educated and soon showed that he was a man of intelligence, of energy, and of firmness of will. He won the favor of his subjects by the simplicity of his mode of life, by his evident sense of duty, and by his sincere interest in the welfare of the people, shown in many spontaneous and unconventional ways. He became forthwith a more decisive factor in the government than his father had been. He was a democratic monarch, indifferent to display, laborious, vigorous. The opening decade of the twentieth century was characterized by a new spirit which, in a way, reflected the buoyancy, and hopefulness, and courage of the young King. But the causes for the new optimism were deeper than the mere change of rulers and lay in the growing prosperity of the nation, a prosperity which, despite appearances, had been for some years preparing and which was now witnessed on all sides. The worst was evidently over.

Italy was becoming an industrial nation. Silk and cotton and chemical and iron manufactures were advancing rapidly. The merchant marine was being greatly increased. This transformation into a great industrial state was not only possible but was necessary, owing to her rapidly increasing population, which grew from 1870 to 1914 from about 25,000,000 to over 35,000,000. The birth rate was higher than that of any other country of Europe. But during the same period the emigration from Italy was large and was steadily increasing. Official statistics show that, between 1876 and 1905, over eight million persons emigrated, of whom over four million went to various South American countries, especially Argentina, and to the United States. Perhaps half of the total number have returned to their native land, for much of the emigration was of a temporary character. Emigration has increased greatly under the present reign, while the economic conditions of the country have begun to show improvement. This is explained by the fact that the industrial revival described above has not yet affected southern Italy and Sicily, whence the large proportion of the emigrants come. From those parts which have experienced that revival the emigration has not been large. Only by an extensive growth of industries can this emigration be stopped or at least rendered normal. Italy finds herself in the position in which Germany was for many years, losing hundreds of thousands of her citizens each year. With the expansion of German industries the outgoing stream grew less until, in 1908, it practically ceased, owing to the fact that her mines

and factories had so far developed as to give employment to all.

This increasing population and this constant loss by emigration have served in recent years to concentrate Italian thought more and more upon the necessity of new and more advantageous colonies, that her surplus population may not be drained away to other countries. The desire for expansion has increased and with it the determination to use whatever opportunities are offered by the politics of Europe for that purpose. The result was the acquisition in 1912 of the extensive territory of Tripoli and of a dozen Ægean islands, spoils of a war with Turkey which will be more fully treated later. With this desire for expansion went also a tendency to scrutinize more carefully the nature of her relations with her allies, Germany and Austria. The advantages of the Triple Alliance became, in the minds of many, more and more doubtful. One obvious and positive disadvantage in an alliance with Austria was the necessary abandonment of a policy of annexation of those territories north and northeast of Italy, which are inhabited by Italians but which were not included within the boundaries of the kingdom at the time of its creation. These were the so-called Trentino, the region around the town of Trent; Trieste, and Istria. These territories were subject to Austria, and as long as Italy was allied with Austria she was kept from any attempt to gain this *Italia irredenta* or Unredeemed Italy, and thus so round out her boundaries as to include within them people who are Italian in race, in language, and, probably, in sympathy.

On May 4, 1915, Italy denounced her treaty of alliance with Austria. The famous Triple Alliance, which had been the dominant factor in European diplomacy since 1882, thus came to an end. On May 23, Italy declared war against Austria-Hungary and entered the European conflict on the side of the Entente Allies in the hope of realizing her "national aspirations."

CHAPTER VI

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

We have traced the history of the unification of Germany and Italy and the rise of the Triple Alliance, great facts in the life of modern Europe. In so doing we have seen something of the fortunes of the third member of that Alliance, the Empire of Austria, a strange collection of peoples and states, or remnants of former states, over whose destinies presided, and had presided for centuries, the famous House of Hapsburg. That Empire, as we have seen, had had a troubled history in the nineteenth century, and had experienced serious reverses of fortune. Austria had lost her Italian possessions, Lombardy in 1859 and Venetia in 1866, and was no longer a factor in the history of that peninsula. She had been expelled from Germany in 1866 as a result of the policies of Bismarck and was now thrown in upon herself. The situation was one that necessitated a thorough reorganization of the state and that reorganization was immediately undertaken. The form that it took was peculiar. The various possessions of the House of Hapsburg were grouped and were recognized as falling into two large divisions, one known henceforth as Austria, the other known as Hungary. Austria consisted of the duchies, between Germany

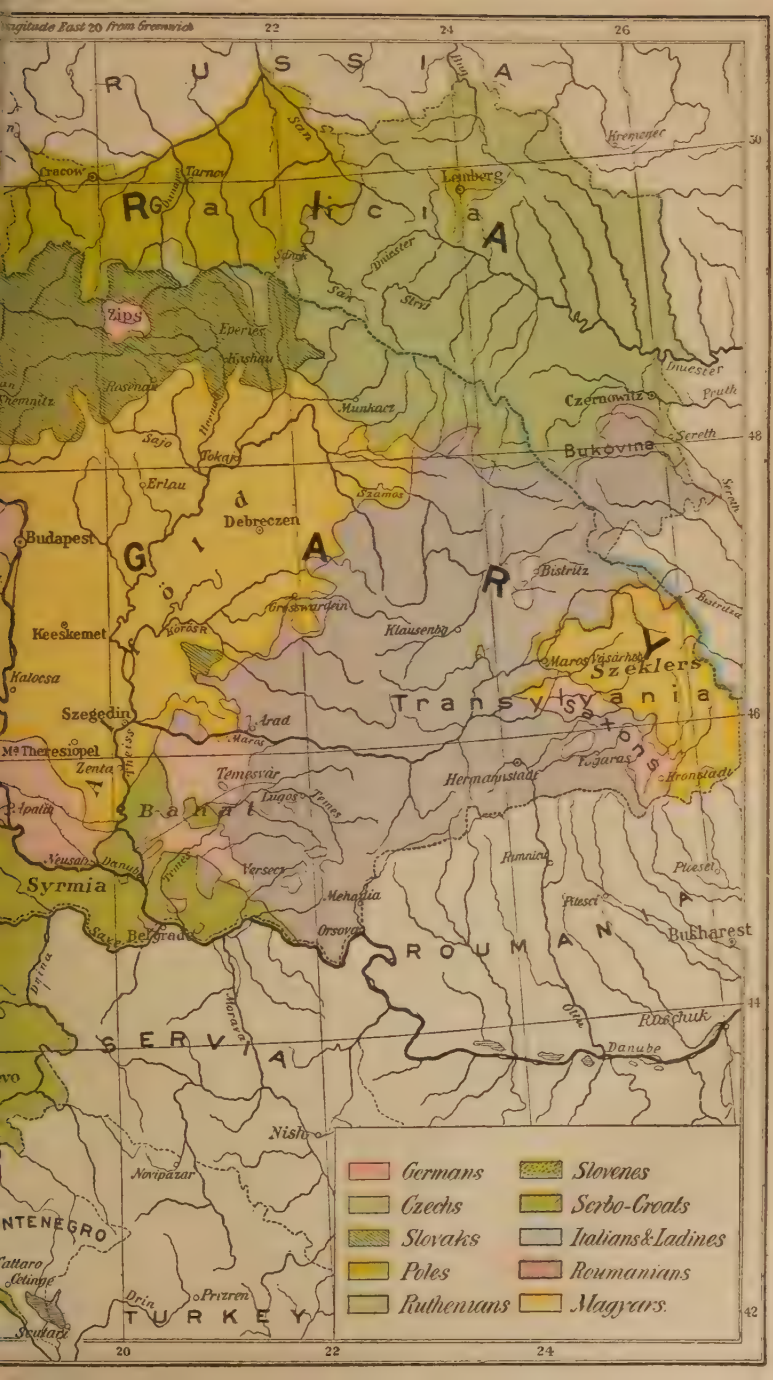
and Italy, Upper Austria, Lower Austria and others, which for a century had been under Hapsburg rule, the old patrimony of that family; consisting also of Bohemia, an independent kingdom during the Middle Ages, but acquired by the Hapsburgs in 1526; of Galicia, a large province which had belonged to the former kingdom of Poland, but which the House of Hapsburg had acquired in the famous partitions of Poland in 1772 and 1795; consisting also of several other regions north of the Adriatic, and of Dalmatia along its eastern shore. Such, in a territorial sense, was Austria. Hungary, on the other hand, the other of the two large divisions, had once been an independent kingdom, like Bohemia, had come under the House of Hapsburg at the same time as the latter; namely, in 1526. It had long been oppressed and latterly had been divided by the reigning dynasty into five separate parts, ruled directly from Vienna. But Hungary had a lively historical sense, was constantly asserting her "historic rights," that is, her right to be treated as an independent state, with all her former institutions of control and local government. Hungary was always intensely conscious of the rôle she had played in the past, and was determined to resume that rôle, if possible. The adversities experienced by the dynasty in Italy and Germany, already described, gave her the opportunity to recover her position, so sadly compromised and even flouted in the past. She was able to exact such large concessions from Francis Joseph, the Emperor, who had come to the throne in 1848, that they amounted to a recognition of her separate individuality and gained

her the privilege of nearly complete self-government. The bargain that she concluded with Austria was the Ausgleich, as the Germans call it, or the Compromise of 1867, an agreement which formed the basis of the Hapsburg Empire down to the close of the Great War.

The Compromise of 1867 created a curious kind of state, defying classification, and absolutely unique. The Empire was henceforth to be called Austria-Hungary, and was to be a dual monarchy. Austria-Hungary was to consist of two distinct, independent states, which were to stand in law upon a plane of complete equality. Each was to have its own capital, the one Vienna, the other Budapest. Both were to have the same ruler, who in Austria should bear the title of Emperor, in Hungary that of King. Each was to have its own Parliament, its own ministry, its own administration. Each was to govern itself in all internal affairs absolutely without interference from the other.

But the two were united not simply in the person of the monarch. They were united for certain affairs regarded as common to both. There was to be a joint ministry composed of three departments: Foreign Affairs, War, and Finance. Each state was to have its own Parliament, but there was to be no Parliament in common. In order then to have a body that should supervise the work of the three joint ministries there was established the system of "delegations." Each Parliament should choose a delegation of sixty of its members. These delegations should meet alternately in Vienna and Budapest.

DISTRIBUTION OF RACES
IN
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.
Breslau
Prussia
Chemnitz
Thuringia
SAXONY
Plauen
Würzburg
Prague
Bohemia
Pilsen
Nuremberg
BAVARIA
WURTTEMBG.
Augsburg
Munich
Linz
VIENNA
Vorarlberg
Innsbruck
Salzburg
Styria
Tyrol
Carinthia
Graz
Trent
Carniola
Brescia
Verona
Padua
Venice
Gulf of Venice
Trieste
Istria
Croatia
Parma
Bologna
Pisa
Florence
Leghorn
Perugia
ADRIATIC SEA
Lesina
Curzola



Longitude East 20 from Greenwich
22
24
26
RUSSIA
Kremenec
Cracow
Tarnov
Lemberg
Galicia
Zips
Eperies
Kashau
Rosenau
Munkacz
Czernowitz
Dniester
Pruth
Sereth
Bukovina
Sajo
Tokaj
Erlau
Szamos
Debreczen
Budapest
Bistritz
Grosswardein
Klausenbg
Keeskemet
Kalocsa
Maros Vásárhely
Szeklers
Transylvania
Szegedin
Arad
Maros
Mª Theresiopel
Zenta
Temesvár
Lugos
Temes
Hermannstadt
Fogaras
Kronstadt
Apatin
Banat
Neusatz
Danube
Syrmia
Versecz
Mehadia
Rumnicu
Pitesci
Pitesel
Bukharest
Belgrade
Orsova
ROUMANIA
Drina
Morava
Olta
Ruschuk
Danube
SERVIA
Nish
Novipazar
NTENEGRO
Cattaro
Cetinge
Prizren
Drin
TURKEY
Scutari
20
22
24
30
48
46
44
42
Germans
Czechs
Slovaks
Poles
Ruthenians
Slovenes
Serbo-Croats
Italians & Ladines
Roumanians
Magyars.

They were really committees of the two Parliaments. They were to sit and debate separately, each using its own language, and they were to communicate with each other in writing. If after three communications no decision should have been reached a joint session must be held in which the question was to be settled without debate by a mere majority vote.

Other affairs, which in most countries are considered common to all parts, such as tariff and currency systems, were not to fall within the competence of the joint ministry or the delegations. They were to be regulated by agreements concluded between the two Parliaments for periods of ten years, exactly as between any two independent states, an awkward arrangement destined to create an intense strain every decade, for the securing of these agreements was to prove most difficult.

Each state was to have its own constitution, each its own Parliament, consisting of two chambers. In neither was there in 1867 universal suffrage. A demand for this has been repeatedly made in both countries with results that will appear later.

Neither of the two states, thus recognized as forming the Dual Monarchy, had a homogeneous population. In each there was a dominant race, the Germans in Austria, the Magyars in Hungary. The Compromise of 1867 was satisfactory to these alone. In each country there were subordinate and rival races, jealous of the supremacy of these two, anxious for recognition and for power, and rendered more insistent by the sight of the remarkable success of the Magyars in asserting their individuality. In Hungary

there were Croatia, Slavonia, and Transylvania; in Austria there were seventeen provinces, each with its own Diet, representing almost always a variety of races. Some of these, notably Bohemia, had in former centuries had a separate statehood, which they wished to recover; others were gaining an increasing self-consciousness, and desired a future controlled by themselves and in their own interests.

The struggles of these races were destined to form the most important feature of Austrian history during the next fifty years. It should be noted that the principle of nationality, so effective in bringing about the unification of Italy and Germany, has tended in Austria in precisely the opposite direction, the splitting up of a single state into many. Dualism was established in 1867, but these subordinate races refused to acquiesce in that as a final form, as dualism favored only two races, the Germans and the Magyars. They wished to change the dual into a federal state, which should give free play to the several nationalities. The fundamental conflict all these years has been between these two principles—dualism and federalism. These racial and nationalistic struggles have been most confusing. In the interest of clearness, only a few of the more important can be treated here.

The Empire of Austria and the Kingdom of Hungary, having had different histories since 1867, may best be treated separately.

The Empire of Austria Since 1867

No sooner had Austria made the Compromise with Hungary than she was confronted with the demand that she proceed farther in the path thus entered upon. Various nationalities, or would-be nationalities, demanded that they should now receive as liberal treatment as Hungary had received in the Compromise of 1867. The leaders in this movement were the Czechs of Bohemia, who, in 1868, definitely stated their position, which was precisely that of the Hungarians before 1867. They claimed that Bohemia was an historic and independent nation, united with the other states under the House of Hapsburg only in the person of the monarch. They demanded that the Kingdom of Bohemia should be restored, that Francis Joseph should be crowned in Prague with the crown of Wenceslaus. The agitation grew to such an extent that the Emperor decided to yield to the Bohemians. On September 14, 1871, he formally recognized the historic rights of the Kingdom of Bohemia, and agreed to be crowned king in Prague, as he had been crowned king in Budapest. Arrangements were to be made whereby Bohemia should gain the same rights as Hungary, independence in domestic affairs and union with Austria and Hungary for certain general purposes. The dual monarchy was about to become a triple monarchy.

But these promises were not destined to be carried out. The Emperor's plans were bitterly opposed by the Germans of Austria, who, as the dominant class and as also a minority of the whole population, the

Slavs being in the majority, feared the loss of their supremacy, feared the rise of the Slavs, whom they hated. They were bitterly opposed, also, by the Magyars of Hungary, who declared that this was undoing the Compromise of 1867, and who feared particularly that the rise of the Slavic state of Bohemia would rouse the Slavic peoples of Hungary to demand the same rights, and the Magyars were determined not to share with them their privileged position. The opposition to the Emperor's plans was consequently most emphatic and formidable. It was also pointed out that the management of foreign affairs would be much more difficult with three nations directing rather than two. The Emperor yielded to the opposition. The decree that was to place Bohemia on an equality with Austria and Hungary never came. Dualism had triumphed over federalism, to the immense indignation of those who saw the prize snatched from them. The Compromise of 1867 remained unchanged. The House of Hapsburg continued to rule over a dual, not over a federal state.

The racial problem, however, could not be conjured away so easily. It still persisted. For several years after this triumph the German element controlled the Austrian Parliament. But, breaking up finally into three groups and incurring the animosity of the Emperor by constantly blocking some of the measures he desired, the Emperor threw his influence against them. There ensued a ministry which lasted longer than any other ministry has lasted and whose policies were in some respects of much significance. This was the Taaffe ministry which was in office

fourteen years, from 1879 to 1893. Its policies favored the development of the Czechs and the Poles, two branches of the Slavic race. The two races of Bohemia are the Germans and the Czechs. The latter were favored in various ways by the Taaffe ministry, which was angry with the Germans. They secured an electoral law which assured them a majority in the Bohemian Diet and in the Bohemian delegation to the Reichsrath or Austrian Parliament; they obtained a university, by the division into two institutions of that of Prague, the oldest German University, founded in 1356. Thus there is a German University of Prague and a Czech University (1882). By various ordinances German was dethroned from its position as sole official language. After 1886 officeholders were required to answer the demands of the public in the language in which they were presented, either German or Czech. This rule operated unfavorably for German officials, who were usually unable to speak Czech, whereas the Czechs, as a rule, spoke both languages.

In Galicia the Poles, though a minority, obtained control of the Diet, supported by the Taaffe ministry, and proceeded to oppress the Ruthenians, who, while Slavs, like the Poles themselves, belonged to the Little Russian or Ukrainian branch of that race; in Carniola the Slovenes proceeded to Slavicize the province. Thus the Slavs were favored during the long ministry of Taaffe and the evolution of the Slavic nationalities and peoples progressed at the expense of the Germans. This is the most striking difference between the recent development of Austria

and the recent development of Hungary. In Austria the German domination of the Slavs largely broke down and was not persisted in, but racial hatreds continued, particularly between the Czechs and Germans of Bohemia. The Slavic peoples, in Austria, had some chances to develop. Racial tyranny, on the other hand, became, as we shall see, the settled policy of the dominant race of Hungary. The result was that racial tension, though by no means absent from Austria, was for a while considerably relieved, whereas in Hungary it steadily increased until it quite reached the snapping point.

A movement toward democracy also went on under the Taaffe ministry and continued after its fall. The agitation for universal suffrage was finally successful. By the law of January 26, 1907, all men in Austria over twenty-four years of age were given the right to vote. The most noteworthy result of the first elections on this popular basis (May, 1907) was the return of 87 Socialists, who polled over a million votes, nearly a third of those cast. This party had previously had only about a dozen representatives. It was noticed at the same elections that the racial parties lost heavily. Whether this meant that the period of extreme racial rivalry was over and the struggle of social classes was to succeed it, remained to be seen.

The Kingdom of Hungary Since 1867

Hungary, a country larger than Austria, larger than Great Britain, found her historic individuality definitely recognized and guaranteed by the Compromise

of 1867. She had successfully resisted all attempts to merge her with the other countries subject to the House of Hapsburg. She was an independent kingdom under the crown of St. Stephen. The sole official language was Magyar, which was neither Slavic nor Teutonic, but Turanian in origin.

The political history of Hungary since the Compromise has been much more simple than that of Austria. Race and language questions have been fundamental, but they have been decided in a summary manner. The ruling race in 1867 was the Magyar, and it has remained the ruling race. Though numerically in the minority in 1867, comprising only about six millions out of fifteen millions, it was a strong race, accustomed to rule and determined to rule. This minority has since 1867 been attempting the impossible—the assimilation of the majority. There are four leading races in Hungary—the Magyar, the Slav, the Roumanian, the German. The Roumanians are the oldest, calling themselves Latins and claiming descent from Roman colonists of ancient times. They live particularly in the eastern part of the kingdom, which is called Transylvania. They do not constitute a solid block of peoples, for there are among them many German or Saxon settlements, and between them and the independent Kingdom of Roumania, inhabited by people of the same race, are many Magyars. The Slavs of Hungary fall into separate groups. In the northern part of Hungary are the Slovaks, of the same race and language as the Czechs of Bohemia. In the southern, and particularly the southwestern part, are Serbs and

Croatians, related to the Serbs of the Kingdom of Serbia. Of these the Croatians were the only ones who had a separate and distinct personality. They had never been entirely absorbed in Hungary, they had had their own history and their own institutions. In 1868 the Magyars made a compromise with Croatia, similar to the compromise they had themselves concluded with Austria in the year preceding. In regard to all the other races, however, the Magyars resolved to Magyarize them early and thoroughly. This policy they have steadily persisted in. They have insisted upon the use of the Magyar language in public offices, courts, schools, and in the railway service—wherever, in fact, it has been possible. It is stated that there is not a single inscription in any post-office or railway station in all Hungary except in the Magyar language. The Magyars have, in fact, refused to make any concessions to the various peoples who live with them within the boundaries of Hungary. They have, indeed, tried in every way to stamp out all peculiarities. For nearly fifty years this policy has been carried out and it has not succeeded. Hungary has not been Magyarized because the power of resistance of Slovaks, Croatians, Slavonians, Roumanians has proved too strong. But in the attempt, which has grown sharper and shriller than ever in the last decade, the Magyar minority has stopped at nothing. It has committed innumerable tricks, acts of arbitrary power, breaches of the law, in order to crush out all opposition. Political institutions have been distorted into engines of ruthless oppression, political life has steadily deteriorated

in character and purpose, under the influence of this overmastering purpose which has recognized no bounds. Hungary, which boasts itself a land of freedom, has ensured freedom only to the dominant race, the Magyars. But for the other races Hungary has been a land of unbridled despotism. Every imaginable instrument has been used to crush the Slavs or convert them into Magyars—corruption and gross illegalities in the administrative service, in the control of elections, persecution of all independent newspapers, suppression of schools, the firm determination to prevent these subject peoples, for that they virtually are though theoretically fellow-citizens, from developing their own languages, literatures, arts, economic life, ideals. The situation has been galling to the Slavs and other peoples. Magyar misrule has steadily increased in intensity, has in our time vitiated and corrupted the national life and has made Hungary a tinder box, where disaffection was bound to blaze up at the first opportune moment. It is an odious history of oppression. Had the Magyars recognized that the other races living within Hungary had the same rights as they, had they adopted a policy of fair play and justice, instead of amalgamation by force, Hungary would have been in a healthy condition. Hungary has not been Magyarized. But racial animosities have been raised to the highest pitch and the time of reckoning has come with the Great War. Any detailed study of the relations of the dominant Magyars with the Croatians, the Serbs, the Slovaks, the Roumanians would amply prove the statements made.

The reply to these assertions, constantly given by the apologists of the Magyars, is that Hungarian law expressly and carefully recognizes the absolute equality of all the various elements and they point to the Law of 1868, which guarantees the "Equal Rights of Nationalities." This law is admirable and enlightened and was composed in the finely liberal spirit of Francis Deák, who indeed was its chief author. But this law is a dead letter, and it has been a dead letter almost from the time of its passage. It has not been repealed, as the advantage of having so liberal an enactment to point to for the purpose of silencing critics and throwing dust in foreign eyes has been apparent to the Magyar tyrants. But the spirit of Francis Deák long ago passed out of the governing circles of Hungary.

That many Roumanians in Transylvania desire separation from Hungary and incorporation in the Kingdom of Roumania, that many of the Serbs or Slavs of southern Hungary desire annexation to the Kingdom of Serbia, need occasion no surprise. Had the Slavs of Hungary received justice, which they never have received, they would not have become an element of danger to the state. There is no evidence even yet to show that the Magyars have learned this lesson.

Toward the close of the nineteenth century there grew up among the Magyars themselves a new party, which still further complicated an already complex situation. It was called the Independence Party and was under the leadership of Francis Kossuth, son of Louis Kossuth of 1848. This party was opposed to

the Compromise of 1867, and wished to have Hungary more independent than she was. It demanded that Hungary should have her own diplomatic corps, control her relations with foreign countries independently of Austria, and possess the right to have her own tariff. Particularly did it demand the use of Magyar in the Hungarian part of the army of the Dual Monarchy—a demand pressed passionately, but always resisted with unshaken firmness by the Emperor, Francis Joseph, who considered that the safety of the State was dependent upon having one language in use in the army, that there might not be confusion and disaster on the battlefield. Scenes of great violence arose over this question, both in Parliament and outside of it, but the Emperor would not yield. Government was brought to a deadlock, and, indeed, for several years the Ausgleich could not be renewed, save by the arbitrary act of the Emperor, for a year at a time. Francis Joseph finally threatened, if forced to concede the recognition of the Hungarian language, to couple with it the introduction of universal suffrage into Hungary, for which there was a growing popular demand. This the Magyars did not wish, fearing that it would rob them of their dominant position by giving a powerful weapon to the politically inferior but more numerous races, and that they would, therefore, ultimately be submerged by the Slavs about them. In 1914 less than twenty-five per cent of the adult male population of Hungary possessed the vote. The normal operation of political institutions had for some time been seriously interrupted by the violent character of the discussions

arising out of these extreme demands for racial monopoly and national independence. Parliamentary freedom had practically disappeared and at the outbreak of the war Hungary was being ruled quite despotically.

The House of Hapsburg lost during the nineteenth century the rich Lombardo-Venetian kingdom (1859-66). It gained, however, Bosnia and Herzegovina. As a result of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 these Turkish provinces were handed over by the Congress of Berlin of 1878 to Austria-Hungary to "occupy" and "administer." The Magyars at the time opposed the assumption of these provinces, wishing no more Slavs within the monarchy, but despite their opposition they were taken over, so strongly was the Emperor in favor of it. The acquisition of these Balkan countries rendered Austria-Hungary a more important and aggressive factor in all Balkan politics, and in the discussions of the so-called Eastern Question, the future of European Turkey. In October, 1908 Austria-Hungary declared these provinces formally annexed. The great significance of this act will be discussed later in connection with the very recent history of southeastern Europe and the causes of the European War.

On November 21, 1916, Francis Joseph died after a reign of nearly sixty-eight years. He was succeeded by his grand-nephew, who assumed the title of Charles I.

CHAPTER VII

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

GREAT BRITAIN in 1870 was in the full tide of a great liberal movement, which expressed itself in many ways. Three years earlier there had been passed, after much discussion and curious complications, a reform act which had enormously extended the suffrage, had closed the rule of the middle class, and had installed democracy in the state. By that act the number of voters was doubled. The suffrage was still dependent upon the ownership of property, but the qualifications were so greatly lowered that a class of the population, previously without the franchise, now gained it, namely, the mass of the working classes living in towns or cities. Henceforth, in such constituencies all householders, irrespective of the value of their houses, and all lodgers who paid not less than ten pounds a year for their lodgings, unfurnished, or about a dollar a week, had the right to vote. In the counties or rural constituencies the previous requirements were practically cut in half. The number of voters was now about two and a quarter millions.

So sweeping was the measure that the prime minister himself, Lord Derby, called it a "leap in the dark." Carlyle, forecasting a dismal future, called it

"shooting Niagara." Robert Lowe, whose memorable attacks had been largely instrumental in defeating a meager measure of reform a year before, now said, "We must educate our masters." It should be noted that during the debates on this bill, John Stuart Mill made a strongly reasoned speech in favor of granting the suffrage to women. The House considered the proposition highly humorous. Nevertheless, this movement, then in its very beginning, was destined to persist and grow.

There is little doubt that the Conservatives expected to be rewarded for passing the Reform Bill of 1867, as the Liberals had been for passing that of 1832, thought, that is, that the newly enfranchised would, out of gratitude, continue them in office. If so, they were destined to a great disappointment, for the elections of 1868 resulted in giving the Liberals a majority of a hundred and twenty in the House of Commons. Gladstone became the head of what was to prove a very notable ministry.

Gladstone possessed a more commanding majority than any prime minister had had since 1832. As the enlargement of the franchise in 1832 had been succeeded by a period of bold and sweeping reforms, so was that of 1867 to be. Gladstone was a perfect representative of the prevailing national mood. The recent campaign had shown that the people were ready for a period of reform, of important constructive legislation. Supported by such a majority, and by a public opinion so vigorous and enthusiastic, Gladstone stood forth master of the situation. No statesman could hope to have more favorable condi-

tions attend his entrance into power. He was the head of a strong, united, and resolute party and several men of great ability were members of his cabinet.

The man who thus became prime minister at the age of fifty-nine was one of the notable figures of modern English history. His parents were Scotch. His father had hewed out his own career, and from small beginnings had, by energy and talent, made himself one of the wealthiest and most influential men in Liverpool, and had been elected a member of Parliament. Young William Ewart Gladstone received "the best education then going" at Eton College and Oxford University, in both of which institutions he stood out among his fellows. At Eton his most intimate friend was Arthur Hallam, the man whose splendid eulogy is Tennyson's "*In Memoriam.*" His career at Oxford was crowned by brilliant scholarly successes, and there he also distinguished himself as a speaker in the Union, the university debating club. Before leaving the university his thought and inclination were to take orders in the Church, but his father was opposed to this and the son yielded. In 1833 he took his seat in the House of Commons as representative for one of the rotten boroughs which the Reform Bill of the previous year had not abolished. He was to be a member of that body for over sixty years, and for more than half that time its leading member. Before attaining the premiership, therefore, in 1868, he had had a long political career and a varied training, had held many offices, culminating in the Chancellorship of the Exchequer and the leadership of the House of Com-

mons. Beginning as a Conservative (Macaulay called him in 1838 the "rising hope of the stern and unbending Tories"), he came under the influence of Sir Robert Peel, a man who, conservative by instinct, was gifted with unusual prescience and adaptability, and who possessed the courage required to be inconsistent, the wisdom to change as the world changed. Gladstone had, after a long period of transition, landed in the opposite camp, and was now the leader of the Liberal Party. By reason of his business ability, shown in the management of the nation's finances, his knowledge of parliamentary history and procedure, his moral fervor, his elevation of tone, his intrepidity and courage, his reforming spirit, and his remarkable eloquence, he was eminently qualified for leadership. When almost sixty he became prime minister, a position he was destined to fill four times, displaying marvelous intellectual and physical energy. His administration, lasting from 1868 to 1874, is called the Great Ministry. The key to his policy is found in his remark to a friend when the summons came from the Queen for him to form a ministry: "My mission is to pacify Ireland." The Irish question, in fact, was to be the most absorbing interest of Mr. Gladstone's later political career, dominating all four of his ministries. It has been a very lively and at times a decisive factor in English politics for the last fifty years.

To understand this question, a brief survey of Irish history in the nineteenth century is necessary. Ireland was all through the century the most discontented and wretched part of the British Empire. While England constantly grew in numbers and

wealth, Ireland decreased in population, and her misery increased. Ireland was inhabited by two peoples, the native Irish, who were Catholics, and settlers from England and Scotland, who were for the most part Anglicans or Presbyterians. The latter were a small but powerful minority.

The fundamental cause of the Irish question lay in the fact that Ireland was a conquered country, that the Irish were a subject race. As early as the twelfth century the English began to invade the island. Attempts made by the Irish at various times during six hundred years to repel and drive out the invaders only resulted in rendering their subjection more complete and more galling. Irish insurrections have been pitilessly punished, and race hatred has been the consuming emotion in Ireland for centuries. The contest has been unequal, owing to the far greater resources of England during all this time. The result of this turbulent history was that the Irish were a subject people in their own land, as they had been for centuries, and that there were several evidences of this so conspicuous and so burdensome that most Irishmen could not pass a day without feeling the bitterness of their situation. It was a hate-laden atmosphere which they breathed.

The marks of subjection were various. The Irish did not own the land of Ireland, which had once belonged to their ancestors. The various conquests by English rulers had been followed by extensive confiscations of the land. Particularly extensive was that of Cromwell. These lands were given in large estates to Englishmen. The Irish were mere tenants,

and most of them tenants-at-will, on lands that now belonged to others. The Irish have always regarded themselves as the rightful owners of the soil of Ireland, have regarded the English landlords as usurpers, and have desired to recover possession for themselves. Hence there has arisen the agrarian question, a part of the general Irish problem.

Again, the Irish had long been the victims of religious intolerance. At the time of the Reformation they remained Catholic, while the English separated from Rome. Attempts to force the Anglican Church upon them only stiffened their opposition. Nevertheless, at the opening of the nineteenth century they were paying tithes to the Anglican Church in Ireland, though they were themselves ardent Catholics, never entered a Protestant church, and were supporting their own churches by voluntary gifts. Thus they contributed to two churches, one alien, which they hated, and one to which they were devoted. Thus a part of the Irish problem was the religious question.

Again, the Irish did not make the laws which governed them. In 1800 their separate Parliament in Dublin was abolished, and from 1801 there was only one Parliament in Great Britain, that in London. While Ireland henceforth had its quota of representatives in the House of Commons, it was always a hopeless minority. Moreover, the Irish members did not really represent the large majority of the Irish, as no Catholic could sit in the House of Commons. There was this strange anomaly that, while the majority of the Irish could vote for members of Parliament, they must vote for Protestants—a bitter mock-

ery. The Irish demanded the right to govern themselves. Thus another aspect of the problem was purely political.

The abuse just mentioned was removed in 1829, when Catholic Emancipation was carried, which henceforth permitted Catholics to sit in the House of Commons. The English statesmen granted this concession only when forced to do so by the imminent danger of civil war. The Irish consequently felt no gratitude.

Shortly after Catholic Emancipation had been achieved, the Irish, under the matchless leadership of O'Connell, endeavored by much the same methods to obtain the repeal of the Union between England and Ireland, effected in 1801, and to win back a separate legislature and a large measure of independence. This movement, for some time very formidable, failed completely, owing to the iron determination of the English that the union should not be broken, and to the fact that the leader, O'Connell, was not willing in last resort to risk civil war to accomplish the result, recognizing the hopelessness of such a contest. This movement came to an end in 1843. However, a number of the younger followers of O'Connell, chagrined at his peaceful methods, formed a society called "Young Ireland," the aim of which was Irish independence and a republic. They rose in revolt in the troubled year 1848. The revolt, however, was easily put down.

As if Ireland did not suffer enough from political and social evils, an appalling catastrophe of nature was added. The Irish famine of 1845-47 was a tragic

calamity, far-reaching in its effects. It was occasioned by the failure of the potato crop, the potato being the chief food of the Irish. More than half of the eight million inhabitants of Ireland depended upon it alone for sustenance and with a large part of the rest it was the chief article of diet. In 1845 the potato crop was largely ruined. Famine resulted and tens of thousands perished from starvation. The Corn Laws were repealed so as to make wheat much cheaper. But the repeal of the Corn Laws did not check the famine. The distress continued for several years, though gradually growing less. The potato crop of 1846 was inferior to that of 1845, and the harvests of 1848 and 1849 were far from normal. Charity sought to aid, but was insufficient. The government gave money, and later gave rations. In March, 1847, over 700,000 people were receiving government support. In March and April of that year the deaths in the workhouses alone were more than ten thousand a month. Peasants ate roots and lichens, or flocked to the cities in the agony of despair, hoping for relief. Multitudes fled to England or crowded the emigrant ships to America, dying by the thousand of fever or exhaustion. It was a long-drawn-out horror, and when it was over it was found that the population had decreased from about 8,300,000 in 1845 to less than 6,600,000 in 1851. Since then the decrease occasioned by emigration has continued. By 1881 the population had fallen to 5,100,000, by 1891 to 4,700,000, by 1911 to about 4,390,000. Since 1851 perhaps 4,000,000 Irish have emigrated. Ireland, indeed, is probably the only country whose popu-

lation decreased in the nineteenth century. Year after year the emigration to the United States continued.

When Gladstone came into power in 1868 he was resolved to pacify the Irish by removing some of their more pronounced grievances.

The question of the Irish Church, that is, of the Anglican Church in Ireland, the church of not more than one-eighth of the population, yet to which all Irishmen, Catholic or Protestant, paid tithes, was the first grievance attacked. In 1869 Gladstone procured the passage of a law disestablishing and partly disendowing this church. The Church henceforth ceased to be connected with the State. Its bishops lost their seats in the House of Lords. It became a voluntary organization and was permitted to retain a large part of its property as an endowment. It was to have all the church buildings which it had formerly possessed. It was still very rich, but the connection with the Church of England was to cease January 1, 1871.

Gladstone now approached a far more serious and perplexing problem, the system of land tenure. Ireland was almost exclusively an agricultural country, yet the land was chiefly owned not by those who lived on it and tilled it, but by a comparatively small number of landlords who held large estates. Many of these were Englishmen, absentees, who rarely or never came to Ireland, and who regarded their estates simply as so many sources of revenue. The business relations with their tenants were carried on by agents or bailiffs, whose treatment of the tenants was frequently harsh and exasperating. If the

peasant failed to pay his rent he could be evicted forthwith. As he was obliged to have land on which to raise his potatoes, almost his sole sustenance, he frequently agreed to pay a larger rent than the value of the land justified. Then in time he would be evicted and faced starvation. Moreover, when a landlord evicted his tenant he was not obliged to pay for any buildings or improvements erected or carried out by the tenant. He simply appropriated so much property created by the tenant. Naturally there was no inducement to the peasant to develop his farm, for to do so meant a higher rent, or eviction and confiscation of his improvements. It would be hard to conceive a more unwise or unjust system. It encouraged indolence and slothfulness.

Chronic and shocking misery was the lot of the Irish peasantry. "The Irish peasant," says an official English document of the time, "is the most poorly nourished, most poorly housed, most poorly clothed of any in Europe; he has no reserve, no capital. He lives from day to day." His house was generally a rude stone hut, with a dirt floor. The census of 1841 established the fact that in the case of forty-six per cent of the population the entire family lived in a house, or, more properly, hut of a single room. Frequently the room served also as a barn for the live stock.

Stung by the misery of their position, and by the injustice of the laws which protected the landlord and gave them only two hard alternatives, surrender to the landlord or starvation, believing that when evicted they were also robbed, and goaded by the

hopeless outlook for the future, the Irish, in wild rage, committed many atrocious agrarian crimes, murders, arson, the killing or maiming of cattle. This in turn brought a new coercion law from the English Parliament which only aggravated the evil.

In the Land Act now passed (1870) to remedy the evils of this system it was provided that, if evicted for any other reason than the non-payment of rent, the tenant could claim compensation. He was also to receive compensation for any permanent improvements he had made on the land whenever he should give up his holding for any reason whatever. There were certain other clauses in the bill designed to enable the peasants to buy the land outright, thus ceasing to be tenants of other people and becoming landowners themselves. This could be done only by purchasing the estates of the landlords, and this obviously the peasants were unable to do. It was provided, therefore, that the state should help the peasant up to a certain amount, he in turn repaying the state by easy installments for the money loaned. This Land Act of 1870 did not achieve what was hoped from it, did not bring peace to Ireland. Landlords found ways of evading it and evictions became more numerous than ever. Nor did the land purchase clauses prove effective. Only seven sales were made up to 1877. But the bill was important because of the principles it involved, and was to exercise a profound influence upon later legislation. For the time being nothing further was done for Ireland.

Another measure of this active ministry was the Forster Education Act of 1870, designed to provide

England with a national system of elementary education. England possessed no such system, it being the accepted opinion that education was not one of the duties of the state. The result was that the educational facilities were deplorably inadequate and inferior to those of many other countries. The work that the state neglected was discharged in a measure by schools which were maintained by the various religious denominations, particularly the Anglican, also the Catholic and the Methodist. But in 1869 it was estimated that of 4,300,000 children in need of education 2,000,000 were not in school at all, 1,000,000 were in very inferior schools, and only 1,300,000 in schools that were fairly efficient.

The Gladstone ministry carried, in 1870, a bill designed to provide England for the first time in her history with a really national system of elementary education. The system then established remained without essential change until 1902. It marked a great progress in the educational facilities of England. The bill did not establish an entirely new educational machinery, to be paid for by the State and managed by the State. It adopted the church schools on condition that they submit to state inspection to see if they were maintaining a certain standard. In that case they would receive financial aid from the State. But where there were not enough such schools, local school boards were to be elected in each such district with power to establish new schools, and to levy local taxes for the purpose. Under this system, which provided an adequate number of schools of respectable quality, popular education made great

advances. In twenty years the number of schools more than doubled, and were capable of accommodating all those of school age. The law of 1870 did not establish either free or compulsory or secular education, but, in 1880, attendance was made compulsory, and in 1891 education was made free.

A number of other far-reaching reforms, democratic in their tendency, were carried through by this ministry. The army was reformed somewhat along Prussian lines, though the principle of compulsory military service was not adopted. Officers' positions, which had previously been acquired by purchase and which were therefore monopolized by the rich, by the aristocracy, were now thrown open to merit. The Civil Service was put on the basis of standing in open competitive examinations. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge were rendered thoroughly national by the abolition of the religious tests which had previously made them a monopoly of the Church of England. Henceforth men of any religious faith or no religious faith could enter them, could graduate from them. The universities henceforth belonged to all Englishmen.

The Australian ballot was introduced, thus giving to each voter his independence. Previously intimidation or bribery had been very easy, as voting had been oral and public; now the voting was secret. Another feature of Gladstone's ministry, which cost him much of his popularity at home, but was an act of high statesmanship and an indisputable contribution to the cause of peace among nations, was its adoption of the principle of arbitration in the controversy

with the United States over the *Alabama* affair. The grievances of the United States against England because of her conduct during our Civil War were a dangerous source of friction between the two countries for many years. Gladstone agreed to submit them to arbitration, but as the decision of the Geneva Commission was against England (1872), his ministry suffered in popularity. Nevertheless, Gladstone had established a valuable precedent. This was the greatest victory yet attained for the principle of settling international difficulties by arbitration rather than by war. In this sphere also this ministry advanced the interests of humanity, though it drew only disadvantage for itself from its service.

Gladstone fell from power in 1874 and the Conservatives came in, with Benjamin Disraeli as prime minister. Disraeli's administration lasted from 1874 to 1880. It differed as strikingly from Gladstone's as his character differed from that of his predecessor. As Gladstone had busied himself with Irish and domestic problems, Disraeli displayed his greatest interest in colonial and foreign affairs. He found the situation favorable and the moment opportune for impressing upon England the political ideal, long germinating in his mind, succinctly called imperialism, that is, the transcendent importance of breadth of view and vigor of assertion of England's position as a world power, as an empire, not as an insular state. In 1872 he had said: "In my judgment no minister in this country will do his duty who neglects any opportunity of reconstructing as much as possible our colonial empire, and of responding to those dis-

tant sympathies which may become the source of incalculable strength and happiness to this land." This principle Disraeli emphasized in act and speech during his six years of power. It was imperfectly realized under him; it was partially reconsidered and revised by Gladstone upon his return to power in 1880. But it had definitely received lodgment in the mind of England before he left power. It gave a new note to English politics. This is Disraeli's historic significance in the annals of British politics. He greatly stimulated interest in the British colonies. He invoked "the sublime instinct of an ancient people."

His first conspicuous achievement in foreign affairs was the purchase of the Suez Canal shares. The Suez Canal had been built by the French against ill-concealed English opposition. Disraeli had himself declared that the undertaking would inevitably be a failure. Now that the canal was built its success was speedily apparent. It radically changed the conditions of commerce with the East. It shortened greatly the distance to the Orient by water. Hitherto a considerable part of the commerce with India, China, and Australia had been carried on by the long voyage around the Cape of Good Hope. Some went by the Red Sea route, but that involved transhipment at Alexandria. Now it could all pass through the canal. About three-fourths of the tonnage passing through the canal was English. It was the direct road to India. There were some 400,000 shares in the Canal Company. The Khedive of Egypt held a large block of these, and the Khedive was nearly bankrupt. Disraeli bought, in 1875, his 177,000 shares

by telegraph for four million pounds, and the fact was announced to a people who had never dreamed of it, but who applauded what seemed a brilliant stroke, somehow checkmating the French. It was said that the highroad to India was now secure. The political significance of this act was that it determined at least in principle the future of the relations of England to Egypt, and that it seemed to strike the note of imperial self-assertion which was Disraeli's chief ambition and which was the most notable characteristic of his administration.

At the same time Disraeli resolved to emphasize the importance of India, England's leading colony, in another way. He proposed a new and sounding title for the British sovereign. She was to be Empress of India. The Opposition denounced this as "cheap" and "tawdry," a vulgar piece of pretension. Was not the title of King or Queen borne by the sovereigns of England for a thousand years glorious enough? But Disraeli urged it as showing "the unanimous determination of the people of the country to retain our connection with the Indian Empire. And it will be an answer to those mere economists and those diplomatists who announce that India is to us only a burden or a danger. By passing this bill then, the House will show, in a manner that is unmistakable, that they look upon India as one of the most precious possessions of the Crown, and their pride that it is a part of her empire and governed by her imperial throne."

The reasoning was weak, but the proposal gave great satisfaction to the Queen, and it was enacted

into law. On January 1, 1877, the Queen's assumption of the new title was officially announced in India before an assembly of the ruling princes.

In Europe Disraeli insisted upon carrying out a spirited foreign policy. His opportunity came with the reopening of the Eastern Question, or the question of the integrity of Turkey, in 1876. For two years this problem absorbed the interest and attention of rulers and diplomatists, and England had much to do with the outcome. This subject may, however, be better studied in connection with the general history of the Eastern problem in the nineteenth century.[1]

Disraeli, who in 1876 became Lord Beaconsfield, continued in power until 1880. The emphasis he put upon imperial and colonial problems was to exert a considerable influence upon the rising generation, and upon the later history of England. Imperial and colonial have vied with Irish questions in dominating the political discussions of England during the last forty years.

In 1880 the Liberals were restored to power and Gladstone became prime minister for the second time.

Gladstone's greatest ability lay in internal reform, as his previous ministry had shown. This was the field of his inclination, and, as he thought, of the national welfare. Peace, retrenchment, and reform, the watchwords of his party, now represented the programme he wished to follow. But this was not to be. While certain great measures of internal improvement were passed during the next five years,

[1] See Chapter XI.

those years on the whole were characterized by the dominance of imperial and colonial questions, with attendant wars. Gladstone was forced to busy himself with foreign policy far more than in his previous administration. Serious questions confronted him in Asia and Africa. These may best be studied, however, in the chapter on the British Empire.[1]

Two pieces of domestic legislation of great importance enacted during this ministry merit description, the Irish Land Act of 1881 and the Reform Bills of 1884-85.

The legislation of Gladstone's preceding ministry had not pacified Ireland. Indeed, the Land Act of 1870 had proved no final settlement, but a great disappointment. It had established the principle that the tenant was to be compensated if deprived of his farm except for non-payment of rent, and was to be compensated, in any case, for all the permanent improvements which he had made upon the land. But this was not sufficient to give the tenant any security in his holding. It did not prevent the landlord from raising the rent. Then if the peasant would not pay this increased rent he must give up his holding. He, therefore, had no stable tenure. In the new Land Act of 1881 Gladstone sought to give the peasant, in addition to the compensation for improvement previously secured, a fair rent, a fixed rent, one that was not constantly subject to change at the will of the landlord, and freedom of sale, that is, the liberty of the peasant to sell his holding to some other peasant. These were the "three F's," which

[1] See Chapter VIII.

had once represented the demands of advanced Irishmen, though they no longer did. Henceforth, the rent was to be determined by a court, established for the purpose. Rents, once judicially determined, were to be unchangeable for fifteen years, during which time the tenant might not be evicted except for breaches of covenant, such as non-payment of rent. There was also attached to the bill a provision similar to the one in the preceding measure of 1870, looking toward the creation of a peasant proprietorship. The Government was to loan money to the peasants under certain conditions, and on easy terms, to enable them to buy out the landlords, thus becoming complete owners themselves.

The bill passed, though it was opposed with unusual bitterness. Landowners, believing that it meant a reduction of rents, determined not by themselves but by a court, called it confiscation of property. It was attacked because it established the principle that rents were not to be determined, like the price of other things, by the law of supply and demand; were not to be what the landlord might demand and the peasant agree to pay, but were to be reasonable and their reasonableness was to be decided by outsiders, judges, having no direct interest at all, that is, in last resort, by the state. The bill was criticised as altering ruthlessly the nature of property in land, as establishing dual ownership.

Gladstone carried through at this time the third of those great reform acts of the nineteenth century by which England has been transformed from an oligarchy into a democracy. The Reform Bill of 1832

had given the suffrage to the wealthier members of the middle class. The Reform Bill of 1867 had taken a long step in the direction of democracy by practically giving the vote to the lower middle class and the bulk of the laboring class in the boroughs, but it did not greatly benefit those living in the country districts. The franchise in the boroughs was wider than in the counties. The result was that laborers in boroughs had the vote, but agricultural laborers did not. There was apparently no reason for maintaining this difference. Gladstone's bill of 1884 aimed at the abolition of this inequality between the two classes of constituencies by extending the borough franchise to the counties so that the mass of workingmen would have the right to vote whether they lived in town or country. The county franchise, previously higher, was to be exactly assimilated to the borough franchise. The bill as passed doubled the number of county voters, and increased the total number of the electorate from over three to more than five millions. Gladstone's chief argument was that this measure would lay the foundations of the government broad and deep in the people's will, and "array the people in one solid compacted mass around the ancient throne which it has loved so well and around a constitution now to be more than ever powerful, and more than ever free."

From 1884 to 1918 there was no further extension of the suffrage. There were many men who had no vote because they were unable to meet any one of the various property qualifications that gave the vote; for it must be remembered that there was no such thing as universal manhood suffrage in England.

Only those voted who had some one of the kinds of property indicated in the various laws of 1832, 1867, and 1884. The condition of the franchise was historical, not rational. Many men possessed several votes; others none at all. There was, during this period, a demand for the enfranchisement of all adult males; there was also a vigorous agitation for woman's suffrage; and the Liberal party was pledged to the abolition of the practice of plural voting. There has been no redistribution of parliamentary seats since 1885. There is no periodical adjustment according to population, as in the United States after each census. To-day some electoral districts are ten, or even fifteen times as large as others. Constituencies range from about 13,000 to over 217,000.

Gladstone's second ministry fell in 1885. There followed a few months of Conservative control under Lord Salisbury. But in 1886 new elections were held and Gladstone came back into power again, prime minister for the third time.

He was confronted by the Irish problem in a more acute form than ever before. For the Irish were now demanding a far-reaching change in government. They were demanding Home Rule, that is, an Irish Parliament for the management of the internal affairs of Ireland. They had constantly smarted under the injury which they felt had been done them by the abolition of their former Parliament, which sat in Dublin, and which was abolished by the Act of Union of 1800. The feeling for nationality, one of the dominant forces of the nineteenth century everywhere, acted upon them with unusual

force. They disliked, for historical and sentimental reasons, the rule of an English Parliament, and the sense as well as reality of subjection to an alien people. They did not wish the separation of Ireland from England, but they did wish a separate parliament for Irish affairs on the ground that the Parliament at Westminster had neither the time nor the understanding necessary for the proper consideration of measures affecting the Irish. The Home Rule party had been slowly growing for several years when, in 1879, it came under the leadership of Charles Stuart Parnell, who, unlike the other great leaders of Irish history, such as Grattan and O'Connell, was no orator and was of a cold, haughty, distant nature, but of an inflexible will. Under his able leadership the party increased in numbers, in cohesion, in grim determination. Parnell's object was to make it so large that it could hold the balance of power in the House of Commons. In the Parliament which met in 1886 the Home Rulers were in this position. If they united with the Conservatives the two combined would have exactly the same number of votes as the Liberals. As the Conservatives would not help them they sided with the Liberals.

Gladstone entered upon his third administration February 1, 1886. It was his shortest ministry, lasting less than six months. It was wholly devoted to the question of Ireland. The Irish had plainly indicated their wishes in the recent elections in returning a solid body of 85 Home Rulers out of the 103 members to which Ireland was entitled. Gladstone was enormously impressed by this fact, the outcome

of the first election held on practically a democratic franchise. He had tried in previous legislation to rule the Irish according to Irish rather than English ideas, where he considered those ideas just. He believed the great blot upon the annals of England to be the Irish chapter, written, as it had been, by English arrogance, hatred, and unintelligence. Reconciliation had been his keynote hitherto. Moreover, to him there seemed but two alternatives—either further reform along the lines desired by the Irish, or the old, sad story of hard yet unsuccessful coercion. Gladstone would have nothing more to do with the latter method. He, therefore, resolved to endeavor to give to Ireland the Home Rule she plainly desired. On the 8th of April, 1886, he introduced the Irish Government Bill, announcing that it would be followed by a Land Bill, the two parts of a single scheme which could not be separated.

The bill, thus introduced, provided for an Irish Parliament to sit in Dublin, controlling a ministry of its own, and legislating on Irish, as distinguished from imperial affairs. A difficulty arose right here. If the Irish were to have a legislature of their own for their own affairs, ought they still to sit in the Parliament in London, with power there to mix in English and Scotch affairs? On the other hand, if they ceased to have members in London, they would have no share in legislating for the Empire as a whole. "This," says Morley, "was from the first, and has ever since remained, the Gordian knot." The bill provided that they should be excluded from the Parliament at Westminster. On certain topics it was

further provided that the Irish Parliament should never legislate: questions affecting the Crown, the army and navy, foreign and colonial affairs; nor could it establish or endow any religion.

Gladstone did not believe that the Irish difficulty would be solved simply by new political machinery. There was a serious social question not reached by this, the land question, not yet solved to the satisfaction of the Irish. He introduced immediately a Land Bill, which was to effect a vast transfer of land to the peasants by purchase from the landlords, and which might perhaps involve an expenditure to the state of about 120,000,000 pounds.

The introduction of these bills, whose passage would mean a radical transformation of Ireland, precipitated one of the fiercest struggles in English parliamentary annals. They were urged as necessary to settle the question once for all on a solid basis, as adapted to bring peace and contentment to Ireland, and thus strengthen the Union. Otherwise, said those who supported them, England had no alternative but coercion, a dreary and dismal failure. On the other hand, the strongest opposition arose out of the belief that these bills imperiled the very existence of the Union. The exclusion of the Irish members from Parliament seemed to many to be the snapping of the cords that held the countries together. Did not this bill really dismember the British Empire? Needless to say, no British statesman could urge any measure of that character. Gladstone thought that his bills meant the reconciliation of two peoples estranged for centuries, and that recon-

ciliation meant the strengthening rather than the weakening of the Empire, that the historic policy of England towards Ireland had only resulted in alienation, hatred, the destruction of the spiritual harmony which is essential to real unity. But, said his opponents, to give the Irish a parliament of their own, and to exclude them from the Parliament in London, to give them control of their own legislature, their own executive, their own judiciary, their own police, must lead inevitably to separation. You exclude them from all participation in imperial affairs, thus rendering their patriotism the more intensely local. You provide, it is true, that they shall bear a part of the burdens of the Empire. Is this proviso worth the paper it is written on? Will they not next regard this as a grievance, this taxation without representation, and will not the old animosity break out anew? You abandon the Protestants of Ireland to the revenge of the Catholic majority of the new Parliament. To be sure, you provide for toleration in Ireland, but again is this toleration worth the paper it is written on?

Probably the strongest force in opposition to the bill was the opinion widely held in England of Irishmen, that they were thoroughly disloyal to the Empire, that they would delight to use their new autonomy to pay off old scores by aiding the enemies of England, that they were traitors in disguise, or undisguised, that they had no regard for property or contract, that an era of religious oppression and of confiscation of property would be inaugurated by this new agency of a parliament of their own.

The introduction of the Home Rule Bill aroused an amount of bitterness unknown in recent English history. The Conservative party opposed it to a man, and it badly disrupted the Liberal party. Nearly a hundred Liberals withdrew and joined the Conservatives. These men called themselves Liberal-Unionists, Liberals, but not men who were prepared to jeopardize the Union as they held that this measure would do. The result was that the bill was beaten by 343 votes to 313.

Gladstone dissolved Parliament and appealed to the people. The question was vehemently discussed before the voters. The result was disastrous to the Gladstonian Home Rulers. A majority of over a hundred was rolled up against Gladstone's policy.

The consequences of this introduction of the Home Rule proposition into British politics were momentous. One was the impotence, for most of the next twenty years, of the Liberal party. A considerable fraction of it, on the whole the least democratic, went over to the Conservatives and the result was the creation of the Unionist Coalition, which for the next twenty years, with a single interruption, was to rule England. The Unionists had a new policy, that of Imperialism. They had preserved the Union, they thought, by defeating Home Rule. They now went further and became the champions of imperial expansion. On the other hand, the Liberal party, now that its more aristocratic elements had left it, became more pronouncedly democratic. The line of division between the two parties became sharper. But for the present the Liberal party was in the hopeless minority.

On the fall of Gladstone, Lord Salisbury came into power, head of a Conservative or Unionist Government. The Irish question confronted it as it had confronted Gladstone's ministry. As it would not for a moment consider any measure granting self-government to the Irish, it was compelled to govern them in the old way, by coercion, by force, by relentless suppression of liberties freely enjoyed in England. But the policy of this ministry was not simply negative. Holding that the only serious Irish grievance was the land problem and that, if this were once completely solved, then this new-fangled demand for a political reform would drop away, the Conservatives adopted boldly the policy of purchase that had been timidly applied in Gladstone's Land Acts of 1870 and 1881. The idea was that if only the Irish could get full ownership of their land, could get the absentee and oppressive landlords out of the way, then they would be happy and prosperous and would no longer care for such political nostrums as Home Rule.

The land purchase of Gladstone's acts had had no great effect, as the state had offered to advance only two-thirds of the purchase price. The Conservatives now provided that the state should advance the whole of it, the peasants repaying the state by installments covering a long period of years. The Government buys the land, sells it to the peasant, who that instant becomes its legal owner, and who pays for it gradually. He actually pays less in this way each year than he formerly paid for rent, and in the end he has his holding unencumbered. This bill was passed

in 1891, and in five years some 35,000 tenants were thus enabled to purchase their holdings under its provisions. The system was extended much further in later years, particularly by the Land Act of 1903, which set aside a practically unlimited amount of money for the purpose. From 1903 to 1908 there were about 160,000 purchasers. Under this act, which simply increased the inducements to the landlords to sell, Ireland is becoming a country of small freeholders. The earlier principle of dual ownership recognized in Gladstone's land legislation of 1881 has given way completely to this new principle of individual ownership, but no longer individual ownership by the great landowners, but now by the peasants, the inhabitants of Ireland. The economic prosperity of Ireland has steadily increased in recent years.

This ministry passed other bills of a distinctly liberal character; among them an act absolutely prohibiting the employment of children under ten, an act designed to reduce the oppression of the sweatshop by limiting the labor of women to twelve hours a day, with an hour and a half for meals, an act making education free, and a small allotment act intended to create a class of peasant proprietors in England. These measures were supported by all parties. They were important as indicating that social legislation was likely to be in the coming years more important than political legislation, which has proved to be the case. They also showed that the Conservative party was changing in character, and was willing to assume a leading part in social reform.

In respect to another item of internal policy, the Salisbury ministry took a stand which has been decisive ever since. In 1889 it secured an immense increase of the navy. Seventy ships were to be added at an expense of 21,500,000 pounds during the next seven years. Lord Salisbury laid it down as a principle that the British navy ought to be equal to any other two navies of the world combined.

In foreign affairs the most important work of this ministry lay in its share in the partition of Africa, which will be described elsewhere.[1]

The general elections of 1892 resulted in the return to power of the Liberals, supported by the Irish Home Rulers, and Gladstone, at the age of eighty-two, became for the fourth time prime minister, a record unparalleled in English history. As he himself said, the one single tie that still bound him to public life was his interest in securing Home Rule for Ireland before his end. It followed necessarily from the nature of the case that public attention was immediately concentrated anew on that question. Early in 1893 Gladstone introduced his second Home Rule Bill. The opposition to it was exceedingly bitter and prolonged. Very few new arguments were brought forward on either side. Party spirit ran riot. Gladstone expressed with all his eloquence his faith in the Irish people, his belief that the only alternative to his policy was coercion, and that coercion would be forever unsuccessful, his conviction that it was the duty of England to atone for six centuries of misrule.

[1] See Chapter IX.

After eighty-two days of discussion, marked by scenes of great disorder, members on one occasion coming to blows, to the great damage of decorous parliamentary traditions, the bill was carried by a majority of 34 (301 to 267). A week later it was defeated in the House of Lords by 419 to 41, or a majority of more than ten to one. The bill was dead.

Gladstone's fourth ministry was balked successfully at every turn by the House of Lords, which, under the able leadership of Lord Salisbury, recovered an actual power it had not possessed since 1832. In 1894 Gladstone resigned his office, thus bringing to a close one of the most remarkable political careers known to English history. His last speech in Parliament was a vigorous attack upon the House of Lords. In his opinion, that House had become the great obstacle to progress. "The issue which is raised between a deliberative assembly, elected by the votes of more than 6,000,000 people," and an hereditary body, "is a controversy which, when once raised, must go forward to an issue." This speech was his last in an assembly where his first had been delivered sixty-one years before. Gladstone died four years later, and was buried in Westminster Abbey (1898).

In the elections of 1895 the Unionists secured a majority of a hundred and fifty. They were to remain uninterruptedly in power until December, 1905.

Lord Salisbury became prime minister for the third time. He remained such until 1902, when he withdrew from public life, being succeeded by his nephew,

Arthur James Balfour. There was, however, no change of party. Lord Salisbury had an immense majority in the House of Commons. His ministry contained several very able men. He himself assumed the Foreign Office, Joseph Chamberlain the Colonial Office, Balfour the leadership of the House of Commons. The withdrawal of Gladstone and the divisions in the Liberal party reduced that party to a position of ineffective opposition. The Irish question sank into the background as the Unionists, resolutely opposed to the policy of an independent parliament in Ireland, declined absolutely to consider Home Rule. They did on the other hand pass certain acts beneficial to Ireland, land purchase acts on a vast scale and measures extending somewhat the strictly local self-government in Ireland. Much social and labor legislation was also enacted.

The commanding question of this period was to be that of imperialism, and the central figure was Joseph Chamberlain, a man remarkable for vigor and audacity, and the most popular member of the cabinet. Chamberlain, who had made his reputation as an advanced Liberal, an advocate of radical social and economic reforms, now stood forth as the spokesman of imperialism. His office, that of Colonial Secretary, gave him excellent opportunities to emphasize the importance of the colonies to the mother country, the desirability of drawing them closer together, of promoting imperial federation.

The sixtieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's accession occurring in 1897 was the occasion of a remarkable demonstration of the loyalty of the colonies to

the Empire, as well as of the universal respect and affection in which the sovereign was held. This diamond jubilee was an imposing demonstration of the strength of the sentiment of union that bound the various sections of the Empire together, of the advantages accruing to each from the connection with the others, of the pride of power. Advantage was taken, too, of the presence of the prime ministers of the various colonies in London to discuss methods of drawing the various parts of the Empire more closely together. All these circumstances gave expression to that "imperialism" which was becoming an increasing factor in British politics.

A period of great activity in foreign and colonial affairs began almost immediately after the inauguration of the new Unionist ministry. It was shown in the recovery of the Soudan by Lord Kitchener, but the most important chapter in this activity concerned the conditions in South Africa, which led, in 1899, to the Boer War, and which had important consequences. This will better be described elsewhere.[1] This war, lasting from 1899 to 1902, much longer than had been anticipated, absorbed the attention of England until its successful termination. Internal legislation was of slight importance. During the war Queen Victoria died, January 22, 1901, after a reign of over sixty-three years, the longest in British history, and then exceeded elsewhere only by the seventy-one years' reign of Louis XIV of France. She had proved during her entire reign, which began in 1837, a model constitutional monarch, subordinat-

[1] See pp. 181-188.

ing her will to that of the people, as expressed by the ministry and Parliament. "She passed away," said Balfour in the House of Commons, "without an enemy in the world, for even those who loved not England loved her." The reign of Edward VII (1901-1910), then in his sixty-second year, began.

When the South African war was over Parliament turned its attention to domestic affairs. In 1902 it passed an Education Act which superseded that of Gladstone's first ministry, the Forster Act of 1870, already described. It abolished the schoolboards established by that law. It admitted the principle of the support of denominational schools out of taxes. In such schools the head teacher must belong to the denomination concerned and a majority of the managers of those schools would also be members of the denomination.

The bill gave great offense to Dissenters and believers in secular education. It authorized taxation for the advantage of a denomination of which multitudes of taxpayers were not members. It was held to be a measure for increasing the power of the Church of England, considered one of the bulwarks of Conservatism.

The opposition to this law was intense. Thousands refused to pay their taxes, and their property was, therefore, sold by public authority to meet the taxes. Many were imprisoned. There were over 70,000 summonses to court. The agitation thus aroused was one of the great causes for the crushing defeat of the Conservative party in 1905. Yet the law of 1902 was put into force and remained the law of England until

1918, the Liberals having failed in 1906 in an attempt to pass an education bill of their own to supersede it. The educational system continued one of the contentious problems of English politics.

The popularity of the Unionist ministry began to wane after the close of the South African war. Much of its legislation was denounced as class legislation designed to bolster up the Conservative party, not to serve the interest of all England. Moreover a new issue was now injected into British politics which divided the Unionists, as Home Rule had divided the Liberals. Chamberlain came forward with a proposition for tariff reform as a means of binding the Empire more closely together. He urged that England impose certain tariff duties against the outside world, at the same time exempting her colonies from their operation. He called this policy "colonial preference." It would be that, but it would also be the abandonment of the free trade policy of Great Britain and the adoption of the protective system.

As the discussion of this proposal developed it became apparent that Englishmen had not yet lost their faith in free trade as still greatly to their advantage, if not absolutely essential to their welfare. The new controversy disrupted the Unionist party and reunited the Liberals.

The result of this increasing disaffection was shown in the crushing defeat of the Unionists and the inauguration of a very different policy under the Liberals. Since December, 1905, the Liberal party has been in power, first under the premiership of Sir Henry Camp-

bell-Bannerman, and then, after his death early in 1908, under that of Herbert Asquith, who gave way, in December, 1916, to Lloyd George, a Liberal, but whose ministry was a coalition ministry, composed of members of both parties. This party won in the General Elections of 1906 the largest majority ever obtained since 1832.

An important achievement of this administration was the passage in 1908 of the Old Age Pensions Act, which marks a long step forward in the extension of state activity. It grants, under certain slight restrictions, pensions to all persons of a certain age and of a small income. Denounced as paternalistic, as socialistic, as sure to undermine the thrift and the sense of responsibility of the laborers of Great Britain, it was urged as a reasonable and proper recognition of the value of the services to the country of the working classes, services as truly to be rewarded as those of army and navy and administration. The act provides that persons seventy years of age whose income does not exceed twenty-five guineas a year shall receive a weekly pension of five shillings, that those with larger incomes shall receive proportionately smaller amounts, down to the minimum of one shilling a week. Those whose income exceeds thirty guineas and ten shillings a year receive no pensions. It was estimated by the prime minister that the initial burden to the State would be about seven and a half million pounds, an amount that would necessarily increase in later years. The post office is used as the distributing agent. This law went into force on January 1, 1909. On that day over half a million men

and women went to the nearest post office and drew their first pensions of from one to five shillings, and on every Friday henceforth as long as they live they may do the same. It was noticed that these men and women accepted their pensions not as a form of charity or poor relief, but as an honorable reward. The statistics of those claiming under this law were instructive and sobering. In the county of London one person in every one hundred and seventeen was a claimant; in England and Wales one in eighty-six; in Scotland one in sixty-seven; in Ireland one in twenty-one.

The Unionist party had been in control from 1895 to 1905. Its chief emphasis had been put upon problems of imperialism. Social legislation had slipped into the background. But the conduct and course of the Boer War, the great adventure in imperialism, had not increased the reputation for statesmanship or the popularity of the Conservatives, and their domestic legislation aiming, as was held, at the strengthening of the Established Church and the liquor trade, two stout and constant defenders of the party, exposed them to severe attack as aristocratic, as believers in privileged and vested interests, as hostile to the development of the democratic forces in the national life.

Now that the Liberals were in power they turned energetically to undo the class legislation of the previous ministry, to remove the obstacles to the development of truly popular government. The new Liberal party was more radical than the old Liberal party of the time of the first Home Rule Bill, as the

more conservative Liberals had left it then and had gone over to the opposition. Moreover there now appeared in Parliament a party more radical still, the Labor party, with some fifty members. Radical social and labor legislation was now attempted. That the existing social system weighed with unjust severity upon the masses was recognized by the ministry. "Property," said Asquith, "must be associated, in the mind of the masses of the people, with the ideas of reason and justice."

But when the Liberals attempted to carry out their fresh and progressive programme they immediately confronted a most formidable obstacle. They passed through the House of Commons an Education bill, to remedy the evils of the Education Act of 1902, enacted in the interests chiefly of the Established Church; also a Licensing bill designed to penalize the liquor trade which Conservative legislation had greatly favored; a bill abolishing plural voting, which gave such undue weight to the propertied classes, enabling rich men to cast several votes at a time when many poor men did not have even a single vote. The obstacle encountered at every step was the House of Lords, which threw out these bills and stood right athwart the path of the Liberal party, firmly resolved not to let any ultra-democratic measures pass, firmly resolved also to maintain all the ground the Conservatives had won in the previous administrations. A serious political and constitutional problem thus arose which had to be settled before the Liberals could use their immense popular majority, as shown in the House of Commons, for the enactment of Lib-

eral policies. The House of Lords, which was always ruled by the Conservatives, and which was not, being an hereditary body, subject to direct popular control, now asserted its power frequently and, in the opinion of the Liberals, flagrantly, by rejecting peremptorily the more distinctive Liberal measures. The Lords, encouraged by their easy successes in blocking the Commons, blithely took another step forward, a step which, as events were to prove, was to precede a resounding fall. The Lords in 1909 rejected the budget, a far more serious act of defiance of the popular chamber than any of these others had been, and a most conspicuous revelation of the spirit of confidence which the Lords had in their power, now being so variously and systematically asserted.

In 1909 Lloyd George, chancellor of the exchequer, introduced the budget. He announced correctly that two new lines of heavy expenditure, the payment of old age pensions and the rapid enlargement of the navy, necessitated new and additional taxation. The new taxes which he proposed would bear mainly on the wealthy classes. The income tax was to be increased. In addition there was to be a special or super-tax on incomes of over £5,000. A distinction was to be made between earned and unearned incomes—the former being the result of the labor of the individual, the latter being the income from investments, representing no direct personal activity on the part of the individual receiving them. Unearned incomes were to be taxed higher than earned. Inheritance taxes were to be graded more sharply and to vary decidedly according to the amount involved.

New taxes on the land of various kinds were also to be levied.

This budget aroused the most vehement opposition of the class of landowners, capitalists, bankers, persons of large property interests, persons who lived on the money they had inherited, on their investments. They denounced the bill as socialistic, as revolutionary, as in short, odious class legislation directed against the rich, as confiscatory, as destructive of all just property rights.

The budget passed the House of Commons by a large majority. It then went to the House of Lords. For a long time it had not been supposed that the Lords had any right to reject money bills, as they were an hereditary and not a representative body. They, however, now asserted that they had that right, although they had not exercised it within the memory of men. After a few days of debate they rejected the budget by a vote of 350 to 75 (November 30, 1909).

At once was precipitated an exciting and momentous political and constitutional struggle. The Liberals, blocked again by the hereditary chamber, consisting solely of the aristocracy of the land, and blocked this time in a field which had long been considered very particularly to be reserved for the House of Commons, indignantly picked up the gauntlet which the Lords had thrown down. The House of Commons voted overwhelmingly, 349 to 134, that the action of the Lords was "a breach of the Constitution and a usurpation of the rights of the House of Commons." Asquith declared in a crowded House that "the House would be unworthy of its past and

of those traditions of which it is the custodian and the trustee," if it allowed any time to pass without showing that it would not brook this usurpation. He declared that the "power of the purse" belonged to the Commons alone. The very principle of representative government was at stake. For if the Lords possessed the right they had assumed the situation was exactly this: that when the voters elected a majority of Conservatives to the Commons then the Conservatives would control the legislation; that, when they elected a majority of Liberals, the Conservatives would still control by being able to block all legislation they disliked by the veto of the House of Lords, always and permanently a body adhering to the Conservative party. An hereditary body, not subject to the people, could veto the people's wishes as expressed by the body that was representative, the House of Commons. In other words, the aristocratic element in the state was really more powerful than the democratic, the house representing a class was more powerful than the house representing the people.

The question of the budget and the question of the proper position and the future of the Upper Chamber were thus linked together. As these questions were of exceptional gravity the ministry resolved to seek the opinion of the voters. Parliament was dissolved and a new election was ordered. The campaign was one of extreme bitterness, expressing itself in numerous deeds of violence. The election, held in January, 1910, resulted in giving the Unionists a hundred more votes than they had had in the

previous Parliament. Yet despite this gain the Liberals would have a majority of over a hundred in the new House of Commons if the Labor party and the Irish Home Rulers supported them, which they did.

In the new Parliament the budget which had been thrown out the previous year was introduced again, without serious change. Again it passed the House of Commons and went to the Lords. That House yielded this time and passed the budget with all its so-called revolutionary and socialistic provisions.

The Liberals now turned their attention to this question of the "Lords' Veto," or of the position proper for an hereditary, aristocratic chamber in a nation that pretended to be democratic, as did England. The issue stated nearly twenty years before by Gladstone in his last speech in Parliament had now arrived at the crucial stage. What should be the relations between a deliberative assembly elected by the votes of more than six million voters and an hereditary body? The question was vehemently discussed inside Parliament and outside. Various suggestions for reform of the House of Lords were made by the members of that House itself, justly apprehensive for their future. The death of the popular King Edward VII (May 6, 1910), and the accession of George V, occurring in the midst of this passionate campaign, somewhat sobered the combatants, though only temporarily. Attempts were made to see if some compromise regarding the future of the House of Lords might not be worked out by the two parties. But the attempts were futile, the issue being too deep and too far-reaching.

The ministry, wishing the opinion of the people on this new question, dissolved the House of Commons again and ordered new elections, the second within a single year (December, 1910). The result was that the parties came back each with practically the same number of members as before. The Government's majority was undiminished.

The Asquith ministry now passed through the House of Commons a Parliament Bill restricting the power of the House of Lords in several important particulars and providing that the House of Commons should in last resort have its way in any controversy with the other chamber. This bill passed the House of Commons by a large majority. How could it be got through the House of Lords? Would the Lords be likely to vote in favor of the recognition of their inferiority to the other house, would they consent to this withdrawal from them of powers they had hitherto exercised, would they acquiesce in this altered and reduced situation at the hands of a chamber whose measures they had been freely blocking for several years? Of course they would not if they could help it. But there is one way in which the opposition of the House of Lords can be overcome, no matter however overwhelming. The King can create new peers—as many as he likes—enough to overcome the majority against the measure in question. This supreme weapon the King, which of course in fact meant the Asquith ministry, was now prepared to use. Asquith announced that he had the consent of George V to create enough peers to secure the passage of the bill in case it were neces-

sary. The threat was sufficient. The Lords on August 18, 1911, passed the Parliament Act, which so profoundly altered their own status, power, and prestige. This measure establishes new processes of law-making. If the Lords withhold their assent from a money bill, that is, any bill raising taxes or making appropriations, for more than one month after it has passed the House of Commons, the bill may be presented for the King's signature, and on receiving it becomes law without the consent of the Lords. If a bill other than a money bill is passed by the Commons in three successive sessions, whether of the same Parliament or not, and is rejected by the Lords, it may on a third rejection by them be presented for the King's assent, and on receiving that assent will become a law, notwithstanding the fact that the House of Lords has not consented to the bill—provided that two years have elapsed between the second reading of the bill in the first of those sessions and the date on which it passes the Commons for the third time.

This Parliament or Veto Act contained another important provision, substituting five years for seven as the maximum duration of a Parliament; that is, members of the Commons are henceforth chosen for five, not seven years. Their term was thus reduced.

Thus the veto power of the House of Lords is gone entirely for all financial legislation, and for all other legislation its veto is merely suspensive. The Commons can have their way in the end. They may be delayed two years.

The way was now cleared for the enactment of

certain legislation desired by the Liberal party, which could not secure the approval of the House of Lords. It was possible finally to pass a Home Rule bill, to the principle of which the Liberal party had been committed for a quarter of a century. On April 11, 1912, Asquith introduced the third Home Rule bill, granting Ireland a Parliament of her own, consisting of a Senate of forty members and a House of Commons of 164. If the two houses should disagree, then they were to sit and vote together. On certain subjects the Irish Parliament should not have the right to legislate; on peace or war, naval or military affairs, treaties, currency, foreign commerce. It could not establish or endow any religion or impose any religious disabilities. The Irish were to be represented in the Parliament in London by forty-two members instead of the previous number, 103.

This measure was passionately opposed by the Conservative party and particularly by the Ulster party, Ulster being that province of Ireland in which the Protestants are strong. They went so far in their opposition as to threaten civil war, in case Ulster were not exempted from the operation of this law. During the next two years the battle raged about this point, in conferences between political leaders, in discussions in Parliament and the press. Attempts at compromise failed, as the Home Rule party would not consent to the exemption of a quarter of Ireland from the jurisdiction of the proposed Irish Parliament.

The bill was, however, passed and was immediately vetoed by the House of Lords. At the next session

it was passed again, and again vetoed by the Lords. Finally, on May 25, 1914, it was passed a third time by the House of Commons by a vote of 351 to 274, a majority of 77. The bill was later rejected by the Lords. It might now become a law without their consent, in conformity with the Parliament Act of 1911. Only the formal assent of the King was necessary.

But the ministry was so impressed with the vehemence and the determination of the "Ulster party," which went so far as to organize an army and establish a sort of provisional government, that it decided to continue discussions in order to see whether some compromise might not be arranged. These discussions were interrupted by the outbreak of the European War.

Meanwhile a bill disestablishing the Anglican Church in Wales had gone through the same process; had thrice been passed by the Commons and rejected by the Lords. Like the Home Rule bill, it only awaited the signature of the sovereign.

Finally that signature was given to both bills on September 18, 1914, but Parliament passed on that same day a bill suspending these laws from operation until the close of the war.

England now had far more serious things to consider and she wisely swept the deck clean of contentious domestic matters until a more convenient season. Whether the Home Rule Act when finally put into force would be accompanied with amendments which would pacify the Protestants of Ulster remains, of course, to be seen.

CHAPTER VIII

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

We have thus far concerned ourselves with the history of the European continent. But one of the most remarkable features of the nineteenth century was the reaching out of Europe for the conquest of the world. It was not only a century of nation building but also of empire building on a colossal scale, a century of European emigration and colonization, a century during which the white race seized whatever regions of the earth remained still unappropriated or were too weak to preserve themselves inviolate. Thus magnificent imperial claims were staked out by various powers either for immediate or for ultimate use.

Many were the causes of this new Wandering of the Peoples. One was the extraordinary increase during the century of the population of Europe—perhaps a hundred and seventy-five millions in 1815, more than four hundred and fifty millions a century later. This is unquestionably one of the most important facts in modern history, the fundamental cause of the colossal emigration. Another cause was the transformation of the economic system, the marvelous increase in the power of production, which impelled the producers to ransack the world for new

markets and new sources of raw material. And another and potent cause was the spectacle of the British Empire, which touched the imagination or aroused the envy of other peoples, who, therefore, fell to imitating, within the range of the possible. An examination of the history and characteristics of that Empire is essential to an understanding of modern Europe.

At the close of the eighteenth century England possessed in the New World the region of the St. Lawrence, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and a large, vague region known as the Hudson Bay territory; Jamaica, and other West Indian islands; in Australia, a strip of the eastern coast; in India, the Bengal or lower Ganges region, Bombay, and strips along the eastern and western coasts. The most important feature of her colonial policy had been her elimination of France as a rival, from whom she had taken in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) almost all of her North American and East Indian possessions. This Empire she increased during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, largely at the expense of France, and Holland, the ally of France. Thus she acquired the Cape of Good Hope, Guiana in South America, Tobago, Trinidad, and St. Lucia, Mauritius in the Indian Ocean, and the large island of Ceylon. In the Mediterranean she acquired Malta. She also obtained Helgoland, and the protectorate of the Ionian Islands.

Since 1815 her Empire has been vastly augumented by a long series of wars, and by the natural advance

of her colonists over countries contiguous to the early settlements, as in Canada and Australia. Her Empire lies in every quarter of the globe.

India

The acquisition of India, a world in itself, for the British Crown was the work of a private commercial organization, the East India Company, which was founded in the sixteenth century and given a monopoly of the trade with India. This company established trading stations in various parts of that peninsula. Coming into conflict with the French, and mixing in the quarrels of the native princes, it succeeded in winning direct control of large sections, and indirect control of others by assuming protectorates over certain of the princes, who allied themselves with the English and were left on their thrones. This commercial company became invested with the government of these acquisitions, under the provisions of laws passed by the English Parliament at various times. In the nineteenth century the area of British control steadily widened, until it became complete. Its progress was immensely furthered by the overthrow, after a long and intermittent war, of the Mahratta confederacy, a loose union of Indian princes dominating central and western India. This confederacy was finally conquered in a war which lasted from 1816 to 1818, when a large part of its territories were added directly to the English possessions, and other parts were left under their native rulers, who, however, were brought effectively under

English control by being obliged to conform to English policy, to accept English *Residents* at their courts, whose advice they were practically compelled to follow, and by putting their native armies under British direction. Such is the condition of many of them at the present day.

The English also advanced to the north and northwest, from Bengal. One of their most important annexations was that of the Punjab, an immense territory on the Indus, taken as a result of two difficult wars (1845 to 1849), and the Oudh province, one of the richest sections of India, lying between the Punjab and Bengal, annexed in 1856.

The steady march of English conquest aroused a bitter feeling of hostility to the English, which came to a head in the famous Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, which for a time threatened the complete overthrow of the British in northern India. This mutiny was, however, speedily suppressed. Since then no attempts have been made to overthrow English control.

One important consequence of the mutiny of 1857 was that, in 1858, the government of India was transferred to the Crown from the private company which had conducted it for a century. It passed under the direct authority of England. In 1876, as we have seen, India was declared an empire, and Queen Victoria assumed the title Empress of India, January 1, 1877. This act was officially announced in India by Lord Lytton, the Viceroy, to an imposing assembly of the ruling princes.

An Empire it surely is, with its three hundred and fifteen million inhabitants. A Viceroy stands

at the head of the government. There is a Secretary for India in the British Ministry. The government is largely carried on by the highly organized Civil Service of India, and is in the hands of about eleven hundred Englishmen. About two hundred and forty-four millions of people are under the direct control of Great Britan; about seventy millions live in native states under native rulers, the "Protected Princes of India," of whom there were, a few years ago, nearly seven hundred. For all practical purposes, however, these princes must follow the advice of English officials, or *Residents,* stationed in their capitals.

Not only did England complete her control of India in the nineteenth century, but she added countries round about India, Burma toward the east, and, toward the west, Baluchistan, a part of which was annexed outright, and the remainder brought under a protectorate. She also imposed a kind of protectorate upon Afghanistan as a result of two Afghan wars (1839-42 and 1878-80).

British North America

In 1815, as already stated, Great Britain possessed, in North America, six colonies: Upper Canada, Lower Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland. The total population of these colonies was about 460,000. The colonies were entirely separate from each other. Each had its own government, and its relations were not with the others, but with England. The oldest and most populous was Lower Canada, which included

Montreal and Quebec and the St. Lawrence valley. This was the French colony conquered by England in 1763. Its population was French-speaking and Roman Catholic in religion.

The two most important of these colonies were Lower Canada, largely French, and Upper Canada, entirely English. Each had received a constitution in 1791, but in neither colony did the constitution work well and the fundamental reason was that neither the people nor their legislatures had any control over the executive. The Governor, who could practically veto all legislation, considered himself responsible primarily to the English Government, not to the people of the province. England had not yet learned the secret of successful management of colonies, despite the fact that the lesson of the American Revolution and the loss of the thirteen colonies a half a century earlier was sufficiently plain. It took a second revolt to point the moral and adorn the tale. In 1837 disaffection had reached such a stage that revolutionary movements broke out in both Upper and Lower Canada. These were easily suppressed by the Canadian authorities without help from England, but the grievances of the colonists still remained.

The English Government, thoroughly alarmed at the danger of the loss of another empire, adopted the part of discretion and sent out to Canada a commissioner to study the grievances of the colonists. The man chosen was Lord Durham, whose part in the reform of 1832 had been brilliant. Durham was in Canada five months. The report in which he analyzed the causes of the rebellion and suggested

changes in policy entitles him to the rank of the greatest colonial statesman in British history. In a word, he adopted the dictum of Fox, who had said "the only method of retaining distant colonies with advantage is to enable them to govern themselves." He proposed the introduction of the cabinet system of government as worked out in England. This gives the popular house of the legislature control over the executive.

Durham's recommendations were not immediately followed, as to many Englishmen they seemed to render the colonies independent. Ten years later, however, this principle of ministerial responsibility was adopted by Lord Elgin (1847), the Governor of Canada and the son-in-law of Durham. His example was followed by his successors and gradually became established usage. The custom spread rapidly to the other colonies of Great Britain, which were of English stock and were therefore considered capable of self-government. This is the cement that holds the British Empire together. For self-government has brought with it contentment.

Lord Durham had also suggested a federation of all the North American colonies. This was brought about in 1867, when the British North America Act, which had been drawn up in Canada and which expressed Canadian sentiment, was passed without change by the English Parliament. By this act Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick were joined into a confederation called the Dominion of Canada. There was to be a central or federal parliament sitting in Ottawa. There were

also to be local or provincial legislatures in each province to legislate for local affairs. Questions affecting the whole Dominion were reserved for the Dominion Parliament.

The central or Dominion Parliament was to consist of a Senate and a House of Commons. The Senate was to be composed of seventy members nominated for life by the Governor-General, himself appointed by the monarch, and representing the Crown. The House of Commons was to be elected by the people. In some respects the example of the English Government was followed in the constitution, in others that of the United States.

Though the Dominion began with only four provinces provision was made for the possible admission of others. Manitoba was admitted in 1870, British Columbia in 1871, Prince Edward Island in 1873.

In 1846, by the settlement of the Oregon dispute, the line dividing the English possessions from the United States was extended to the Pacific Ocean, and in 1869 the Dominion acquired by purchase (£300,000) the vast territories belonging to the Hudson Bay Company, out of which the great provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan have been carved and admitted into the union (1905). The Dominion now includes all of British North America except the island of Newfoundland, which has steadily refused to join. It thus extends from ocean to ocean. Except for the fact that she receives a Governor-General from England and that she possesses no treaty powers, Canada is practically independent. She manages her own affairs, and even imposes tariffs which are dis-

advantageous to the mother country. That she has imperial as well as local patriotism, however, was shown strikingly in her support of England in the South African war. She sent Canadian regiments thither at her own expense to coöperate in an enterprise not closely connected with her own fortunes. The same spirit, the same willingness to make costly sacrifices, were to be shown, on a larger scale, in the European War.

The founding of the Canadian union in 1867 rendered possible the construction of a great transcontinental railway, the Canadian Pacific, built between 1881 and 1885. This has in turn reacted upon the Dominion, binding the different provinces together and contributing to the remarkable development of the West. Another transcontinental railway has recently been built farther to the north. Canada is connected by steamship lines with Europe and with Japan and Australia. Her population has increased from less than five hundred thousand in 1815 to more than seven million. Her prosperity has grown immensely, and her economic life is becoming more varied. Largely an agricultural and timber-producing country, her manufactures are now developing under the stimulus of protective tariffs, and her vast mineral resources are in process of rapid development.

Australia

In the Southern Hemisphere, too, a new empire was created by Great Britain during the nineteenth century, an empire nearly as extensive territorially

as the United States or Canada, about three-fourths as large as Europe, and inhabited almost entirely by a population of English descent.

No systematic exploration of this southern continent, *Terra Australis*, was undertaken until toward the close of the eighteenth century, but certain parts had been sighted or traced much earlier by Spanish Portuguese, and particularly by Dutch navigators. Among the last, Tasman is to be mentioned, who in 1642 explored the southeastern portion, though he did not discover that the land which was later to bear his name was an island, a fact not known, indeed, for a century and a half. He discovered the islands to the east of Australia, and gave to them a Dutch name, New Zealand. The Dutch called the *Terra Australis* New Holland, claiming it by right of discovery. But they made no attempt to occupy it. The attention of the English was first directed thither by the famous Captain Cook, who made three voyages to this region between 1768 and 1779. Cook sailed around New Zealand, and then along the eastern coast of this New Holland. He put into a certain harbor, which was forthwith named Botany Bay, so varied was the vegetation on the shores. Sailing up the eastern coast, he claimed it all for George III, and called it New South Wales, because it reminded him of the Welsh coast. Seventeen years, however, went by before any settlement was made.

At first Australia was considered by English statesmen a good place to which to send criminals, and it was as a convict colony that the new empire began. The first expedition for the colonization of the coun-

try sailed from England in May, 1787, with 750 convicts on board, and reached Botany Bay in January, 1788. Here the first settlement was made, and to it was given the name of the colonial secretary of the day, Sydney. For many years fresh cargoes of convicts were sent out, who, on the expiration of their sentences, received lands. Free settlers came, too, led to emigrate by various periods of economic depression at home, by promises of land and food, and by an increasing knowledge of the adaptability of the new continent to agriculture, and particularly to sheep raising. By 1820 the population was not far from 40,000. During the first thirty years the government was military in character.

The free settlers were strongly opposed to having Australia regarded as a prison for English convicts, and after 1840 the system was gradually abolished. Australia was at first mainly a pastoral country, producing wool and hides. But, in 1851 and 1852, rich deposits of gold were found, rivaled only by those discovered a little earlier in California. A tremendous immigration ensued. The population of the colony of Victoria (cut off from New South Wales) increased from 70,000 to more than 300,000 in five years. Australia has ever since remained one of the great gold-producing countries of the world.

Thus there gradually grew up six colonies, New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia, and the neighboring island of Tasmania. These were gradually invested with self-government, parliaments, and responsible ministries in the fashion worked out in Canada. The popula-

tion increased steadily, and by the end of the century numbered about four millions.

The great political event in the history of these colonies was their union into a confederation at the close of the century. Up to that time the colonies had been legally unconnected with each other, and their only form of union was the loose one under the British Crown. For a long time there was discussion as to the advisability of binding them more closely together. Various reasons contributed to convince the Australians of the advantages of federation; the desirability of uniform legislation concerning commercial and industrial matters, railway regulation, navigation, irrigation, and tariffs. Moreover the desire for nationality, which accomplished such remarkable changes in Europe in the nineteenth century, was also active here. An Australian patriotism had grown up. Australians desired to make their country the dominant authority in the Southern Hemisphere. They longed for a larger outlook than that given by the life of the separate colonies, and thus both reason and sentiment combined toward the same end, a close union, the creation of another "colonial nation."

Union was finally achieved after ten years of earnest discussion (1890-1900). The various experiments in federation were carefully studied, particularly the constitutions of the United States and Canada. The draft of the constitution was worked over by several conventions, by the ministers and the governments of the various colonies, and was finally submitted to the people for ratification. Ratification being secured,

the constitution was then passed through the British Parliament under the title of "The Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act" (1900). The constitution was the work of the Australians. The part taken by England was simply one of acceptance. Though Parliament made certain suggestions of detail, it did not insist upon them in the case of Australian opposition.

The constitution established a federation consisting of the six colonies, which were henceforth to be called states, not provinces, as in the case of Canada. It created a federal Parliament of two houses, a Senate consisting of six senators from each state, and a House of Representatives apportioned among the several states according to population. The powers given to the Federal Government were carefully defined. The new system was inaugurated January 1, 1901.

New Zealand

Not included in the new commonwealth is an important group of islands of Australasia called New Zealand, situated 1,200 miles east of Australia. England began to have some connection with these islands shortly after 1815, but it was not until 1839 that they were formally annexed to the British Empire. In 1854 New Zealand was given responsible government, and in 1865 was entirely separated from New South Wales and made a separate colony. Emigration was methodically encouraged. New Zealand was never a convict colony. Population increased and it gradually became the most democratic colony of

the Empire. In 1907 the designation of the colony was changed to the Dominion of New Zealand.

New Zealand consists of two main islands with many smaller ones. It is about a fourth larger than Great Britain and has a population of about 1,000,000, of whom about 50,000 are aborigines, the Maoris. Its capital is Wellington, with a population of about 70,000. Auckland is another important city. New Zealand is an agricultural and grazing country, and also possesses rich mineral deposits, including gold.

New Zealand is of great interest to the world of to-day because of its experiments in advanced social reform, legislation concerning labor and capital, land-owning and commerce. State control has been extended over more branches of industry than has been the case in any other country.

The Government owns and operates the railways. The roads are run, not for profit, but for service to the people. As rapidly as profits exceed three per cent passenger and freight rates are reduced. Comprehensive and successful attempts are made by very low rates to induce the people in congested districts to live in the country. Workmen going in and out travel about three miles for a cent. Children in the primary grades in schools are carried free, and those in higher grades at very low fares.

The Government also owns and operates the telegraphs and telephones and conducts postal savings banks. Life insurance is largely in its hands. It has a fire and accident insurance department. In 1903 it began the operation of some state coal mines. Its land legislation is remarkable. Its main purpose is

to prevent the land from being monopolized by a few, and to enable the people to become landholders. In 1892 progressive taxation on the large estates was adopted, and in 1896 the sale of such estates to the government was made compulsory, and thus extensive areas have come under government ownership. The state transfers them under various forms of tenure to the landless and working classes. The system of taxation, based on the principle of graduation, higher rates for larger incomes, properties, and inheritances, is designed to break up or prevent monopoly and to favor the small proprietor or producer.

In industrial and labor legislation New Zealand has also made radical experiments. Arbitration in labor disputes is compulsory if either side invokes it, and the decision is binding. Factory laws are stringent, aiming particularly at the protection of women, the elimination of "sweating." In stores the Saturday half-holiday is universal. The Government has a Labor Department, whose head is a member of the cabinet. Its first duty is to find work for the unemployed, and its great effort is to get the people out of the cities into the country. There is an Old Age Pension Law, enacted in 1898 and amended in 1905, providing pensions of about a hundred and twenty-five dollars for all men and women after the age of sixty-five whose income is less than five dollars a week.

All this governmental activity rests on a democratic basis. There are no property qualifications for voting, and women have the suffrage as well as men. The referendum has been adopted.

The Australian colony of Victoria has enacted much legislation resembling that described in the case of New Zealand.

British South Africa

As an incident in the wars against France and her ally and dependent, Holland, England seized the Dutch possession in South Africa, Cape Colony. This colony she retained in 1814, together with certain Dutch possessions in South America, paying six million pounds as compensation. This was the beginning of English expansion into Africa, which was to attain remarkable proportions before the close of the century. The population at the time England took possession consisted of about 27,000 people of European descent, mostly Dutch, and of about 30,000 African and Malay slaves owned by the Dutch, and about 17,000 Hottentots. Immigration of Englishmen began forthwith.

Friction between the Dutch (called Boers, i.e., peasants) and the English was not slow in developing. The forms of local government to which the Boers were accustomed were abolished and new ones established. English was made the sole language used in the courts. The Boers, irritated by these measures, were rendered indignant by the abolition of slavery in 1834. They did not consider slavery wrong. Moreover, they felt defrauded of their property, as the compensation given was inadequate—about three million pounds—little more than a third of what they considered their slaves worth.

The Boers resolved to leave the colony and to set-

tle in the interior, where they could live unmolested by the intruders. This migration or Great Trek began in 1836, and continued for several years. About 10,000 Boers thus withdrew from Cape Colony. Rude carts drawn by several pairs of oxen transported their families and their possessions into the wilderness. The result was the founding of two independent Boer republics to the north of Cape Colony, namely, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal or South African Republic. A most checkered career has been theirs. The Orange Free State was declared annexed to the British Empire in 1848, but it rebelled and its independence was recognized by Great Britain in 1854. From that time until 1899 it pursued a peaceful career, its independence not infringed upon.

The independence of the Transvaal was also recognized, in 1852. But twenty-five years later, in 1877, under the strongly imperialistic ministry of Lord Beaconsfield, it was abruptly declared annexed to the British Empire, on the ground that its independence was a menace to the peace of England's other South African possessions. The Boers' hatred of the English naturally expressed itself and they took up arms in the defense of their rights.

In 1880 Lord Beaconsfield was overthrown and Gladstone came into power. Gladstone had denounced the annexation, and was convinced that a mistake had been made which must be rectified. He was negotiating with the Boer leaders, hoping to reach, by peaceful means, a solution that would be satisfactory to both sides, when his problem was

made immensely more difficult by the Boers themselves, who, in December, 1880, rose in revolt and defeated a small detachment of British troops at Majuba Hill, February 27, 1881. In a military sense, this so-called battle of Majuba Hill was an insignificant affair, but its effects upon Englishmen and Boers were tremendous and far-reaching. Gladstone, who had already been negotiating with a view to restoring the independence of the Transvaal, which he considered had been unjustly overthrown, did not think it right to reverse his policy because of a mere skirmish, however humiliating. His ministry, therefore, went its way, not believing that it should be deflected from an act of justice and conciliation merely because of a military misfortune of no importance in itself. The independence of the Transvaal was formally recognized with the restriction that it could not make treaties with foreign countries without the approval of Great Britain and with the proviso, which was destined to gain tremendous importance later, that "white men were to have full liberty to reside in any part of the republic, to trade in it, and to be liable to the same taxes only as those exacted from citizens of the republic."

Gladstone's action was severely criticised by Englishmen, who did not believe in retiring, leaving a defeat unavenged. They denounced the policy of the ministry as hostile to the welfare of the South African colonies and damaging to the prestige of the Empire. The Boers, on the other hand, considered that they had won their independence by arms, by the humiliation of the traditional enemy, and were ac-

cordingly elated. In holding this opinion they were injuring themselves by self-deception and by the idea that what they had once done they could do again, and they were angering the British by keeping alive the memory of Majuba Hill. The phrase just quoted, concerning immigration, contained the germ of future trouble, which in the end was to result in the violent overthrow of the republic, for a momentous change in the character of the population was impending.

The South African Republic was entirely inhabited by Boers, a people exclusively interested in agriculture and grazing, solid, sturdy, religious, freedom-loving, but, in the modern sense, unprogressive, ill-educated, suspicious of foreigners, and particularly of Englishmen. The peace and contentment of this rural people were disturbed by the discovery, in 1884, that gold in immense quantities lay hidden in their mountains, the Rand. Immediately a great influx of miners and speculators began. These were chiefly Englishmen. In the heart of the mining district the city of Johannesburg grew rapidly, numbering in a few years over 100,000 inhabitants, a city of foreigners. Troubles quickly arose between the native Boers and the aggressive, energetic Uitlanders or foreigners.

The Uitlanders gave wide publicity to their grievances. Great obstacles were put in the way of their naturalization; they were given no share in the government, not even the right to vote. Yet in parts of the Transvaal they were more numerous than the natives, and bore the larger share of taxation. In addition they were forced to render military service,

which, in their opinion, implied citizenship. They looked to the British Government to push their demand for reforms. The Boer Government was undoubtedly an oligarchy, but the Boers felt that it was only by refusing the suffrage to the unwelcome intruders that they could keep control of their own state, which at the cost of much hardship they had created in the wilderness. In 1895 occurred an event which deeply embittered them, the Jameson Raid—an invasion of the Transvaal by a few hundred troopers under Dr. Jameson, the administrator of Rhodesia, with the apparent purpose of overthrowing the Boer Government. The raiders were easily captured by the Boers, who, with great magnanimity, handed them over to England. This indefensible attack and the fact that the guilty were only lightly punished in England, and that the man whom all Boers held responsible as the arch-conspirator, Cecil Rhodes, was shielded by the British Government, entered like iron into the souls of the Boers and only hardened their resistance to the demands of the Uitlanders. These demands were refused and the grievances of the Uitlanders, who now outnumbered the natives perhaps two to one, continued. Friction steadily increased. The British charged that the Boers were aiming at nothing less than the ultimate expulsion of the English from South Africa; the Boers charged that the British were aiming at the extinction of the two Boer republics. There was no spirit of conciliation in either government.

Joseph Chamberlain, British Colonial Secretary, was arrogant and insolent. Paul Kruger, President of the

Transvaal, was obstinate and ill-informed. Ultimately in October, 1899, the Boers declared war upon Great Britain. The Orange Free State, no party to the quarrel, threw in its lot with its sister Boer republic.

This war was lightly entered upon by both sides. Each grossly underestimated both the resources and the spirit of the other. The English Government had made no preparation at all adequate, apparently not believing that in the end this petty state would dare oppose the mighty British Empire. The Boers, on the other hand, had been long preparing for a conflict, and knew that the number of British troops in South Africa was small, totally insufficient to put down their resistance. Moreover, for years they had deceived themselves with a gross exaggeration of the significance of Majuba Hill as a victory over the British. Each side believed that the war would be short, and would result in its favor.

The war, which they supposed would be over in a few months, lasted for nearly three years. England suffered at the outset many humiliating reverses. The war was not characterized by great battles, but by many sieges at first, and then by guerilla fighting and elaborate, systematic, and difficult conquest of the country. It was fought with great bravery on both sides. For the English, Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener were the leaders, and of the Boers several greatly distinguished themselves, obtaining world-wide reputations, Christian de Wet, Louis Botha, Delarey.

The English won in the end by sheer force of numbers and peace was finally concluded on June 1, 1902.

The Transvaal and the Orange Free State lost their independence, and became colonies of the British Empire. Otherwise the terms offered by the conquerors were liberal. Generous money grants and loans were to be made by England to enable the Boers to begin again in their sadly devastated land. Their language was to be respected wherever possible.

The work of reconciliation has proceeded with remarkable rapidity since the close of the war. Responsible government, that is, self-government, was granted to the Transvaal Colony in 1906 and to the Orange River Colony in 1907. This liberal conduct of the English Government had the most happy consequences, as was shown very convincingly by the spontaneity and the strength of the movement for closer union, which culminated in 1909 in the creation of a new "colonial nation" within the British Empire. In 1908 a convention was held in which the four colonies were represented. The outcome of its deliberations, which lasted several months, was the draft of a constitution for the South African Union. This was then submitted to the colonies for approval and, by June, 1909, had been ratified by them all. The constitution was in the form of a statute to be enacted by the British Parliament. It became law September 20, 1909.

The South African Union was the work of the South Africans themselves, the former enemies, Boers and British, harmoniously coöperating. The central government consists of a Governor-General appointed by the Crown; an Executive Council; a Senate and a House of Assembly. Both Dutch and English are

official languages and enjoy equal privileges. Difficulty was experienced in selecting the capital, so intense was the rivalry of different cities. The result was a compromise. Pretoria was chosen as the seat of the executive branch of the government, Cape Town as the seat of the legislative branch.

The creation of the South African Union is the most recent triumph of the spirit of nationality which so greatly transformed the world during the nineteenth century. The new commonwealth has a population of about 1,150,000 whites and more than 6,000,000 people of non-European descent. Provision has been made for the ultimate admission of Rhodesia into the Union.

Imperial Federation

At the opening of the twentieth century Great Britain possessed an empire far more extensive and far more populous than any the world had ever seen, covering about thirteen millions of square miles, if Egypt and the Soudan were included, with a total population of over four hundred and twenty millions. This Empire is scattered everywhere, in Asia, Africa, Australasia, the two Americas, and the islands of the seven seas. The population includes a motley host of peoples. Only fifty-four million are English-speaking, and of these about forty-two million live in Great Britain. Most of the colonies are self-supporting. They illustrate every form of government, military, autocratic, representative, democratic. The sea alone binds the Empire. England's throne is on the mountain wave in a literal as well as in a metaphorical

sense. Dominance of the oceans is essential that she may keep open her communications with her far-flung colonies. It is no accident that England is the greatest sea-power of the world, and intends to remain such. She regards this as the very vital principle of her imperial existence.

A noteworthy feature of the British Empire, as already sufficiently indicated, is the practically unlimited self-government enjoyed by several of the colonies, those in which the English stock predominates, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand. This policy is in contrast to that pursued by the French and German governments, which rule their colonies directly from Paris and Berlin. But this system does not apply to the greatest of them all, India, nor to a multitude of smaller possessions.

A question much and earnestly discussed during the last twenty-five years is that of Imperial Federation. May not some machinery be developed, some method be found, whereby the vast empire may be more closely consolidated, and for certain purposes act as a single state? If so, its power will be greatly augmented, and the world will witness the most stupendous achievement in the art of government recorded in its history. The creation of such a Greater Britain has seized, in recent years, the imagination of many thoughtful statesmen. That the World War will have contributed to the solution of this problem seems a reasonable expectation. For that war showed the existence of an intense imperial patriotism among Canadians, Australians, New Zealanders, South Africans, and apparently even Indians, all rushing instinc-

tively to support the mother country in her hour of need, all evidently willing to give the last full measure of devotion to a cause which they regarded as common to them all. So powerful a spirit may well find a way of embodying and crystallizing itself in permanent political institutions. The sense of unity, indisputably revealed, may well be the harbinger of a coming organization adapted to preserve and foster that sense and to develop it more richly still.

CHAPTER IX

THE PARTITION OF AFRICA

Lying almost within sight of Europe and forming the southern boundary of her great inland sea is the immense continent, three times the size of Europe, whose real nature was revealed only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In some respects the seat of very ancient history, in most its history is just beginning. In Egypt a rich and advanced civilization appeared in very early times along the lower valley of the Nile. Yet only after thousands of years and only in our own day have the sources and the upper course of that famous river been discovered. Along the northern coasts arose the civilization and state of Carthage, rich, mysterious, and redoubtable, for a while the powerful rival of Rome, succumbing to the latter only after severe and memorable struggles. The ancient world knew, therefore, the northern shores of Africa. The rest was practically unknown. In the fifteenth century came the great series of geographical discoveries, which immensely widened the known boundaries of the world. Among other things, they revealed the hitherto unknown outline and magnitude of the continent. But its great inner mass remained as before, unexplored, and so it remained until well into the nineteenth century.

In 1815 the situation was as follows: the Turkish Empire extended along the whole northern coast to Morocco; that is, the Sultan was nominally sovereign of Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis, and Algeria. Morocco was independent under its own sultan. Along the western coasts were scattered settlements, or rather stations, of England, France, Denmark, Holland, Spain, and Portugal. Portugal had certain claims on the eastern coast, opposite Madagascar. England had just acquired the Dutch Cape Colony, whence, as we have seen, her expansion into a great South African power has proceeded. The interior of the continent was unknown, and was of interest only to geographers.

For sixty years after 1815, progress in the appropriation of Africa by Europe was slow. The most important annexation was that of Algeria by France between 1830 and 1847. In the south, England was spreading out, and the Boers were founding their two republics.

European annexation waited upon exploration. Africa was the "Dark Continent," and until the darkness was lifted it was not coveted. About the middle of the century the darkness began to disappear. Explorers penetrated farther and farther into the interior, traversing the continent in various directions, opening a chapter of geographical discovery of absorbing interest. It is impossible within our limits to do more than allude to the wonderful work participated in by many intrepid explorers, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Portuguese, Dutchmen, Germans, and Belgians. A few incidents only can be mentioned.

It was natural that Europeans should be curious about the sources of the Nile, a river famous since the dawn of history, but whose source remained enveloped in obscurity. In 1858 one source was found by Speke, an English explorer, to consist of a great lake south of the equator, to which the name Victoria Nyanza was given. Six years later another Englishman, Sir Samuel Baker, discovered another lake, also a source, and named it Albert Nyanza.

Two names particularly stand out in this record of African exploration, Livingstone and Stanley. David Livingstone, a Scotch missionary and traveler, began his African career in 1840, and continued it until his death, in 1873. He traced the course of the Zambesi River, of the upper Congo, and the region round about Lakes Tanganyika and Nyassa. He crossed Africa from sea to sea. He opened up a new country to the world. His explorations caught the attention of Europe, and when, on one of his journeys, Europe thought that he was lost or dead, and an expedition was sent out to find him, that expedition riveted the attention of Europe as no other in African history had done. It was under the direction of Henry M. Stanley, sent out by the New York *Herald*. Stanley's story of how he found Livingstone was read with the greatest interest in Europe, and heightened the desire, already widespread, for more knowledge about the great continent. Livingstone, whose name is the most important in the history of African exploration, died in 1873. His body was borne with all honor to England and given the burial of a national hero in Westminster Abbey.

By this time not only was the scientific curiosity of Europe thoroughly aroused, but missionary zeal saw a new field for activity. Thus Stanley's journey across Africa, from 1874 to 1878, was followed in Europe with an attention unparalleled in the history of modern explorations. Stanley explored the equatorial lake region, making important additions to knowledge. His great work was, however, his exploration of the Congo River system. Little had been known of this river save its lower course as it approached the sea. Stanley proved that it was one of the largest rivers in the world, that its length was more than three thousand miles, that it was fed by an enormous number of tributaries, that it drained an area of over 1,300,000 square miles, that in the volume of its waters it was only exceeded by the Amazon.

Thus, in 1880, the scientific enthusiasm and curiosity, the missionary and philanthropic zeal of Europeans, the hatred of slave hunters who plied their trade in the interior, had solved the great mystery of Africa. The map showed rivers and lakes where previously all had been blank.

Upon discovery quickly followed appropriation. France entered upon her protectorate of Tunis in 1881, England upon her "occupation" of Egypt in 1882. This was a signal for a general scramble. A feverish period of partition succeeded the long, slow one of discovery. European powers swept down upon this continent lying at their very door, hitherto neglected and despised, and carved it up among themselves. This they did without recourse to war by a

series of treaties among themselves, defining the boundaries of their claims. Africa became an annex of Europe. Out of this rush for territories the great powers, England, France, and Germany, naturally emerged with the largest acquisitions, but Portugal and Italy each secured a share. The situation and relative extent of these may best be appreciated by an examination of the map. Most of the treaties by which this division was affected were made between 1884 and 1890.

One feature of this appropriation of Africa by Europe was the foundation of the Congo Free State. This was the work of the second King of Belgium, Leopold II, a man who was greatly interested in the exploration of that continent. After the discoveries of Livingstone, and the early ones of Stanley, Leopold called a conference of the powers in 1876. As a result of its deliberations an International African Association was established, which was to have its seat in Brussels, and whose aim was to be the exploration and civilization of central Africa. Each nation wishing to coöperate was to collect funds for the common object.

In 1879 Stanley was sent out to carry on the work he had already begun. Hitherto an explorer, he now became, in addition, an organizer and state builder.

During the next four or five years, 1879-84, he made hundreds of treaties with native chiefs and founded many stations in the Congo basin. Nominally an emissary of an international association, his expenses were largely borne by King Leopold II.

Portugal now put forth extensive claims to much

of this Congo region on the ground of previous discovery. To adjust these claims and other matters, a general conference was held in Berlin, in 1884-5, attended by all the states of Europe, with the exception of Switzerland, and also by the United States. The conference recognized the existence as an independent power of the Congo Free State, with an extensive area, most of the Congo basin. It was evidently its understanding that this was to be a neutral and international state. Trade in it was to be open to all nations on equal terms, the rivers were to be free to all, and only such dues were to be levied as should be required to provide for the necessities of commerce. No trade monopolies were to be granted. The conference, however, provided no machinery for the enforcement of its decrees. Those decrees have remained unfulfilled. The state quickly ceased to be international, monopolies have been granted, trade in the Congo has not been free to all.

The new state became practically Belgian because the King of Belgium was the only one to show much practical interest in the project. In 1885, Leopold II assumed the position of sovereign, declaring that the connection of the Congo Free State and Belgium should be merely personal, he being the ruler of both. This and later changes in the status of the Congo have either been formally recognized or acquiesced in by the powers. This international state finally, in 1908, was converted outright into a Belgian colony, subject, not to the personal rule of the King, but to Parliament.

AFRICA
1910
English Standard Mile 63,16-1°
European Possessions
German
French
Spanish
under Turkish Suzerainty
British
Portuguese
Italian
Belgian
Abbreviations:
Nat - Natal
Bas. - Basuto Land
Tr. - Tronskei (Kingo Land)
Po - Pondo Land
K. - British Kaffraria
W Gr - West Griqua Land
E. Gr. - East Griqua Land
T. - Tembu Land.
To. - Tongo Land.
SAHARA
Libyan Desert
Nubia
ARABIA
Arabian Desert
EGYPT
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan 1899
Abyssinia
Italian Somaliland
Somali Ld.
Ogaden
Equatorial Prov.
Emin Pasha
Bahr el-Ghasal
Dar Fur
Kordofan
Kaffa
Lado
Mahdi 1883/85-1898
Fezzan
TRIPOLI
Barca
Tripoli
Algeria
Morocco
Tunis
Mauretania 1903
Senegambia
Kaarta
Upper Senegal & Niger
Ivory Coast
Sierra Leone
Liberia
French Guinea
Portuguese Guinea
Gambia
Nigeria
Sokoto
Bornu
Wadai
Kamerun
Adamaua
Lagos
Gold Coast
Togoland
Dahomey
Benin
Rabeh 1879-1900
Congo
Kongo Free State
Nyassa
Rhodesia
Transvaal
Orange Free State
Cape Colony
Natal
Basutoland
Bechuanaland
Damaraland
Ovamboland
Angola
Portuguese East Africa
Madagascar
Mozambique
Zanzibar
Uganda
Kenia
Abyssinia
Somaliland
Eritrea
Italian Libya
Egypt
Nubia
Sudan
Arabia
Yemen
Hadramaut
Hedjaz
Nejed
Persian Gulf
Red Sea
Gulf of Aden
Mediterranean Sea
Black Sea
Tropic of Cancer
Equator
Spain
Portugal
Italy
Turkey
Greece
Asia Minor
Crete
Cyprus
Rhodes
Sardinia
Corsica
Sicily
Malta
Canary Is
Madeira Is.
Cape Verde Is.
Fernando Po
Annobon
St. Helena
Ascension
Tristan da Cunha
Gough I.
Prince's I.
St. Thomas I.
Socotra
Perim
Aden
Mocha
Hodeida
Jeddah
Mecca
Medina
Suakim
Port Sudan
Massawa
Kassala
Khartum
Omdurman
Berber
Dongola
Wadi Halfa
Assuan
Luxor
Cairo
Alexandria
Port Said
Suez
Sinai
Jerusalem
Damascus
Beirut
Haifa
Aleppo
Smyrna
Constantinople
Angora
Erzerum
Batum
Black Sea
Danube
Rome
Naples
Marseilles
Barcelona
Madrid
Lisbon
Gibraltar
Tangier
Ceuta
Melilla
Algiers
Tunis
Tripoli
Benghazi
Gulf of Sidra
Gulf of Guinea
Niger
Nile
Congo
Zambesi
Limpopo
Orange R.
Tugela
Zambesi
Kilimanjaro
Victoria Nyanza
Tanganyika
Nyassa
Rudolf
Albert Nyanza
Kivu
Mweru
Bangweolo
Shirwa
Ngami
Victoria Falls
Kimberley
Johannesburg
Pretoria
Cape Town
Durban
Port Elizabeth
Walvis Bay
Swakopmund
Windhoek
Loanda
Benguela
Mozambique
Beira
Lourenco Marques
Delagoa Bay
Tananarive
Majunga
Tamatave
Diego Suarez
Zanzibar
Mombasa
Kilindini
Dar-es-Salaam
Lindi
Kilwa
Tabora
Ujiji
Nairobi
Uganda
Kenia
Abyssinia
Somaliland
Eritrea
Italian Libya
Egypt
Nubia
Sudan
Arabia
Yemen
Hadramaut
Hedjaz
Nejed
Persian Gulf
Red Sea
Gulf of Aden
Mediterranean Sea
Black Sea
Tropic of Cancer
Equator

ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
The Boer Republics Until 1902.
SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC
ORANGE FREE STATE
Pretoria
Johannesburg
Bloemfontein
Pietermaritzburg
Durban
Pt. Natal
Mafeking
Kimberley
Ladysmith
Colenso
Vryburg
Majuba Hill
Glencoe
Sta Lucia Bay
Colesberg
Orange R.
Transvaal
Zululand
CAPE VERDE ISLANDS
S. Antão
S. Vincente
S. Nicolao
Portuguese Guiné
S. Thiago
Brava
S. Louis
Senegal
Dakar
Gambia
Bissao
Bissagos Id.
Cape Verde
Bathurst
Bulama Port
Founded 1576
Founded 1840
Founded 1652
Cape of Good Hope
Tropic of Capricorn
Equator
West Longitude
East Longitude
BELGIAN CONGO
GERMAN EAST AFRICA
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA
BECHUANALAND
GERMAN SOUTH WEST AFRICA
GERMAN KAOKO
GERMAN NAMA-LD
ANGOLA
RHODESIA
NYASSALAND
MADAGASCAR
French Protectorate
CAPE PROV.
Cape Town
Port Elizabeth
East London
Durban
Delagoa Bay
Lourenço Marques
Beira
Mozambique Channel
Angra Pequeña
Orange R.
Zambezi R.
Victoria Falls
Lake Tanganyika
Lake Nyassa
Lake Victoria
Lake Rudolf
Lake Albert
Lake Bangweolo
Lake Mweru
Lake Kivu
Lake Kiwu
Lake Kisale
Lake Kamalondo
Lake Dilolo
Lake Ngami
Lake Liambezi
Lake Shirwa
Lake Chiuta
Lake Amaramba
Lake Mweru
Lake Kisale
Lake Kamalondo
Lake Dilolo
Lake Ngami
Lake Liambezi
Lake Shirwa
Lake Chiuta
Lake Amaramba
Mauritius
Réunion
Seychelles
Comoro Is
Zanzibar
Mombasa
Pemba
Tabora
Kilima Njaro
Mt. Kenia
Mt. Elgon
Mt. Ruwenzori
Mt. Dauphin
Mt. Ste Marie
Port Louis
St. Denis
Amirante Is
Aldabra Id.
Cosmoledo Id.
Farquhar I.
Glorioso I.
Diego Suarez B.
Nohimar
Johanna I.
Mayotta Fr.
Nossi Bé's
Pt. Amelia
Delagoa Bay
Inhambane
Tuléar
Bazaruto I.
Andevorante
Andamarua
Tamatave
Majunga
Zambezi R.
Shire R.
Rovuma R.
Lumbo
Mossuril
Quelimane
Beira
Sofala
Manica
Umtali
Salisbury
Bulawayo
Matabele Land
Mashonaland
Lobisi
Katanga
Elisabethville
Bukama
Kambove
Ndola
Broken Hill
Kalomo
Livingstone
Kafue R.
Kabompo R.
Zambezi R.
Cuando R.
Cubango R.
Okavango R.
Kunene R.
Cunene R.
Orange R.
Vaal R.
Limpopo R.
Molopo R.
Kuruman
Kimberley
Mafeking
Vryburg
Windhoek
Walfish B.
Swakopmund
Gr. Fish R.
Porto-Alexandre
Mossamedes
Benguella
Loanda
St. Paul de Loanda
Ascension I.
St. Helena
Cape Verde Islands
Lourenço Marques
Delagoa Bay
Zululand
Natal
Durban
Pietermaritzburg
Ladysmith
Colenso
Majuba Hill
Glencoe
Sta Lucia Bay
Bloemfontein
Colesberg
Orange R.
Transvaal
Pretoria
Johannesburg
Mafeking
Kimberley
Vryburg
Vaal R.
Limpopo R.
Molopo R.
Kuruman

Egypt

Egypt, a seat of ancient civilization, was conquered by the Turks and became a part of the Turkish Empire in 1517. It remained nominally such down to 1915, when Great Britain declared it annexed to the British Empire as a protected state. During all that time its supreme ruler was the Sultan, who resided in Constantinople. But a series of remarkable events in the nineteenth century resulted in giving it a most singular and complicated position. To put down certain opponents of the Sultan an Albanian warrior, Mehemet Ali, was sent out early in the nineteenth century. Appointed by the Sultan Governor of Egypt in 1806, he had, by 1811, made himself absolute master of the country. He had succeeded only too well. Originally merely the representative of the Sultan, he had become the real ruler of the land. His ambitions grew with his successes, and he was able to gain the important concession that the right to rule as viceroy in Egypt should be hereditary in his family. The title was later changed to that of Khedive. Thus was founded an Egyptian dynasty, subject to the dynasty of Constantinople.

The fifth ruler of this family was Ismail (1863-79). It was under him that the Suez Canal was completed, a great undertaking carried through by a French engineer, Ferdinand de Lesseps, the money coming largely from European investors. This Khedive plunged into the most reckless extravagance. As a result the Egyptian debt rose with extraordinary

rapidity from three million pounds in 1863 to eighty-nine million in 1876.

The Khedive, needing money, sold, in 1875, his shares in the Suez Canal Company to Great Britain for about four million pounds, to the great irritation of the French. This was a mere temporary relief to the Khedive's finances, but was an important advantage to England, as the canal was destined inevitably to be the favorite route to India.

This extraordinary increase of the Egyptian debt is the key to the whole later history of that country. The money had been borrowed abroad, mainly in England and France. Fearing the bankruptcy of Egypt, the governments of the two countries intervened in the interest of their investors, and succeeded in imposing their control over a large part of the financial administration. This was the famous Dual Control, which lasted from 1879 to 1883. The Khedive, Ismail, resented this tutelage, was consequently forced to abdicate, and was succeeded by his son Tewfik, who ruled from 1879 to 1892. The new Khedive did not struggle against the Dual Control, but certain elements of the population did. The bitter hatred inspired by this intervention of the foreigners flared up in a native movement, which had as its war cry, "Egypt for the Egyptians," and as its leader, Arabi Pasha, an officer in the army. Before this movement of his subjects the Khedive was powerless. It was evident that the foreign control, established in the interest of foreign bond-holders, could only be perpetuated by the suppression of Arabi and his fellow-malcontents, and that the suppression could

be accomplished only by the foreigners themselves. Thus financial intervention led directly to military intervention. England sought the coöperation of France, but France declined. She then proceeded alone, defeated Arabi in September, 1882, and crushed the rebellion.

The English had intervened nominally in the interest of the Khedive's authority against his rebel, Arabi, though they had not been asked so to intervene either by the Khedive himself or by the Sultan of Turkey, legal sovereign of Egypt, or by the powers of Europe. Having suppressed the insurrection, what would they do? Would they withdraw their army? The question was a difficult one. To withdraw was to leave Egypt a prey to anarchy; to remain was certainly to offend the European powers, which would look upon this as a piece of British aggression. Particularly would such action be resented by France. Consequently England did not annex Egypt. She recognized the Khedive as still the ruler, Egypt as still technically a part of Turkey. But she insisted on holding the position of "adviser" to the Khedive and also insisted that her "advice" in the government of Egypt be followed. From 1883 to 1915 such was the situation. A British force remained in Egypt, the "occupation," as it was called, continued, advice was compulsory. England was ruler in fact, not in law. The Dual Control ended in 1883, and England began in earnest a work of reconstruction and reform which was carried forward under the guidance of Lord Cromer, who was British Consul-General in Egypt until 1907.

In intervening in Egypt in 1882, England became immediately involved in a further enterprise which brought disaster and humiliation. Egypt possessed a dependency in the south, the Soudan, a vast region comprising chiefly the basin of the Upper Nile, a poorly organized territory with a varied, semi-civilized, nomadic population, and a capital at Khartoum. This province, long oppressed by Egypt, was in full process of revolt. It found a chief in a man called the Mahdi, or leader, who succeeded in arousing the fierce religious fanaticism of the Soudanese by claiming to be a kind of Prophet or Messiah. Winning successes over the Egyptian troops, he proclaimed a religious war, the people of the whole Soudan rallied about him, and the result was that the troops were driven into their fortresses and there besieged. Would England recognize any obligation to preserve the Soudan for Egypt? Gladstone, then prime minister, determined to abandon the Soudan. But even this was a matter of difficulty. It involved at least the rescue of the imprisoned garrisons. The ministry was unwilling to send a military expedition. It finally decided to send out General Gordon, a man who had shown a remarkable power in influencing half-civilized races. It was understood that there was to be no expedition. It was apparently supposed that somehow Gordon, without military aid, could accomplish the safe withdrawal of the garrisons. He reached Khartoum, but found the danger far more serious than had been supposed, the rebellion far more menacing. He found himself shortly shut up in Khartoum, surrounded by frenzied and confident Mahdists.

At once there arose in England a cry for the relief of Gordon, a man whose personality, marked by heroic, eccentric, magnetic qualities, bafflingly contradictory, had seized in a remarkable degree the interest, enthusiasm, and imagination of the English people. But the Government was dilatory. Weeks, and even months, went by. Finally, an expedition was sent out in September, 1884. Pushing forward rapidly, against great difficulties, it reached Khartoum January 28, 1885, only to find the flag of the Mahdi floating over it. Only two days before the place had been stormed and Gordon and eleven thousand of his men massacred.

For a decade after this the Soudan was left in the hands of the dervishes, completely abandoned. But finally England resolved to recover this territory, which she did by the battle of Omdurman, in which General Kitchener completely annihilated the power of the dervishes, September 2, 1898.

Egypt and the Soudan were formally declared annexed to the British Empire in 1915 as an incident of the European War. The Khedive was deposed and a new Khedive was put in his place, and Great Britain prepared to rule Egypt as she rules many of the states of India, preserving the formality of a native prince as sovereign. Egypt was declared a "Protected State."

CHAPTER X

THE SMALL STATES OF EUROPE

THERE were in Europe in 1914 about twenty different states. It is difficult to give the precise number, since the exact status of one or two of them was somewhat doubtful. Some of these states were extremely small. There were two petty republics; one, Andorra, located in the Pyrenees, which consisted chiefly of a valley surrounded by high mountain peaks and which had a population of about five thousand. Its maximum length is seventeen miles, its width eighteen. Andorra is under the suzerainty of France and of the Spanish Bishop of Urgel, paying 960 francs a year to the former, 460 to the latter. The other of these republics is San Marino, which claims to be the oldest state in Europe, and is located on a spur of the Apennines, entirely surrounded by Italy, and which has a population of about twelve thousand. San Marino is the sole survivor of those numerous city-republics which abounded in Italy during the Middle Ages. Then there is also the little principality of Liechtenstein, lying between Switzerland and Austria, and having a population of about eleven thousand. There was also in 1914 the principality of Albania, a state which was created by international action in 1912 and 1913, and which collapsed

in the following year at the outbreak of the war. But whatever the exact status of these petty states may be, they may be ignored in our survey, as, with the exception of Albania, they have not counted in the general politics of Europe.

There were in 1914 three other states which occupied a peculiar position. They were the so-called neutralized states Belgium, Luxemburg, and Switzerland. A neutralized state is one whose independence and integrity are guaranteed forever by international agreement. Such states may generally maintain armies, but only for defense. They may never make aggressive war; nor may they make treaties or alliances with other states that may lead them into war. The reason why a state may desire to become neutralized is that it is weak, that its independence is guaranteed, that it has no desire or ability to participate in international affairs, in the usual struggles or competitions of states. The reasons why the great powers have consented to the neutralization of such states have differed in different cases. But the chief reason has been connected with the theory of the balance of power, the desire to keep them as buffers between two or more neighboring large states. Switzerland was neutralized in 1815 at the close of the Napoleonic Wars, and its neutrality has never been infringed. Belgium was neutralized in 1831 when it separated from Holland and became an independent state. Luxemburg was neutralized in 1867 when it was freed from its previously existing connections with Germany, as a result of the reorganization of Germany and the establishment of the

North German Confederation, after the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 and the famous battle of Königgrätz or Sadowa.

A neutralized state may, as has been said, have an army and a navy and may build fortresses, as long as this is done for purposes of self-defense only, for a neutralized state is obliged to defend its neutrality, if attacked, to the full extent of its powers. Thus, in 1914, Belgium and Switzerland had armies and universal military service. Luxemburg, however, was an anomaly, as the treaty of 1867, neutralizing her, provided explicitly that she should not be allowed to keep any armed force, with the exception of a police for the maintenance of public security and order. Under the circumstances, Luxemburg could do nothing for the defense of her neutrality when invaded in August, 1914. Belgium, however, could and did make a spirited, though ineffectual, resistance to the invader. Switzerland was not attacked, but nevertheless she mobilized her army at the outbreak of the war and stood ready to defend herself, if necessary. Whether Belgium and Luxemburg, whose guaranteed rights were so poor a protection in 1914, will be neutralized again remains, of course, to be seen.

It cannot yet be said with confidence whether neutralization as an international device can stand the test of history, or not. Belgium's neutrality was observed by its guarantors for eighty-three years and then ruthlessly broken by one of them; Luxemburg's for forty-seven, then broken by the same power—Germany. Switzerland, as stated, is the only one of these specially "protected" states which has passed

unscathed by foreign war, and respected by its protectors for a full century and more.

From the point of view of general European politics, the significance of Belgium and of her northern neighbor, Holland, from which she separated in 1830, has lain in the fact that they have been coveted by those Germans who have desired to increase the boundaries of the German Empire, and who have, to that end, advocated the absorption of certain territories lying beyond the boundaries of Germany. Belgium and Holland have been coveted by the Pan-Germans because of their riches, industrial and agricultural, because of their coastline, abounding in excellent harbors on the Atlantic, fronting England, and also because of their colonies, Belgium possessing a vast African domain, now called the Congo Colony, rich in tropical products, and Holland possessing invaluable tropical islands in the East Indies, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, and Celebes. The Belgian colony has an area of over 900,000 square miles, an area about a fourth as large as that of the United States, including Alaska, with a population of perhaps ten million. The colonies of Holland or the Netherlands, as that state is officially called, have an area of about 800,000 square miles and a population of approximately thirty-eight millions. The Pan-Germans looked with greedy eyes upon these spacious and inviting territories, belonging to countries which, in a military sense, were conveniently weak.

Switzerland

The chief significance of Switzerland in the general history of modern Europe and the world of to-day lies, not in great events, nor in foreign policy, for she has constantly preserved a strict neutrality, but in the steady and thoroughgoing evolution of certain political forms and devices which have been increasingly studied abroad and which may ultimately prove of value to all self-governing countries. She has been a land of interesting and suggestive political experimentation.

Switzerland is a federal state. Each canton, and there are twenty-five of them, has its own government, with its own definite jurisdiction and powers. But all are united for certain national purposes. The national government resembles, in some respects, that of the United States. There is a federal legislature, consisting of two houses; the National Council, elected directly by the people, one member for every 20,000 inhabitants, and the Council of States, composed of two members of each canton. In the former, population counts; in the latter, equality of the cantons is preserved. The two bodies sitting together choose the Federal Tribunal, and also a committee of seven, the Federal Council, to serve as the executive. From this committee of seven they elect each year one who acts as its chairman and whose title is "President of the Swiss Confederation," but whose power is no greater than that of any of the other members.

But more important than the organization of the

federal government are certain processes of law-making which have been developed in Switzerland and which are the most democratic in character known to the world. The achievement in this direction has been so remarkable, the process so uninterrupted, that it merits description.

In all countries calling themselves democratic, the political machinery is representative, not direct, that is, the voters do not make the laws themselves, but merely at certain periods choose people, their representatives, who make them. These laws are not ratified or rejected by the voters; they never come before the voters directly. But the Swiss have sought, and with great success, to render the voters law-makers themselves, and not the mere choosers of law-makers, to apply the power of the democracy to the national life at every point, and constantly. They have done this in various ways. Their methods have been first worked out in the cantons, and later in the confederation.

Some of the smaller cantons have from time immemorial been pure democracies. The voters have met together at stated times, usually in the open air, have elected their officials, and by a show of hands have voted the laws. There are six such cantons to-day. Such direct government is possible, because these cantons are small both in area and population. They are so small that no voter has more than fifteen miles to go to the voting place, and most have a much shorter distance.

But in the other cantons this method does not prevail. In them the people elect representative assem-

blies, as in England and the United States, but they exercise a control over them not exercised in those countries, a control which renders self-government almost as complete as in the six cantons described above. They do this by the so-called referendum and initiative. In the cantons where these processes are in vogue the people do not, as in the *Landesgemeinde* cantons, come together in mass meeting and enact their own laws. They elect, as in other countries, their own legislature, which enacts the laws. The government is representative, not democratic. But the action of the legislature is not final, only to be altered, if altered at all, by a succeeding legislature. Laws passed by the cantonal legislature may or must be referred to the people (referendum), who then have the right to reject or accept them, who, in other words, become the law-makers, their legislature being simply a kind of committee to help them by suggesting measures and by drafting them.

The initiative, on the other hand, enables a certain number of voters to propose a law or a principle of legislation and to require that the legislature submit the proposal to the people, even though it is itself opposed to it. If ratified the proposal becomes law. The initiative thus reverses the order of the process. The impulse to the making of a new law comes from the people, not from the legislature. The referendum is negative and preventive. It is the veto power given to the people. The initiative is positive, originative, constructive. By these two processes a democracy makes whatever laws it pleases. The one is the complement of the other. They do not abolish legisla-

tures, but they give the people control whenever a sufficient number wish to exercise it. The constitution of the canton of Zurich expresses the relation as follows: "The people exercise the law-making power with the assistance of the state legislature." The legislature is not the final law-making body. The voters are the supreme legislators. These two devices, the referendum and the initiative, are intended to establish, and do establish, government of the people, and by the people. They are of great interest to all who wish to make the practice of democracy correspond to the theory. By them Switzerland has more nearly approached democracy than has any other country.

Switzerland has made great progress in education and in industry. The population has increased over a million since 1850 and now numbers about three and a half millions. The population is not homogeneous in race or language. About 71 per cent speak German, 21 per cent French, 5 per cent Italian, and a small fraction speak a peculiar Romance language called Roumansch. But language is not a divisive force, as it is elsewhere, as it is, for example, in Austria-Hungary and in the Balkan peninsula, probably because no political advantages or disadvantages are connected with it.

Denmark

Three other small nations of Europe are the Scandinavian states, Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Of these the one that has been most intimately and also

most disastrously affected by the general course of events in Europe is Denmark. Denmark was dismembered twice during the nineteenth century. Her importance, her resources were therefore seriously reduced. The first dismemberment occurred at the time of the fall of Napoleon I. During the later wars of Napoleon, Denmark had been his ally, remaining loyal to the end, while other allies had taken favorable occasion to desert him. For this conduct the conquerors of Napoleon punished her severely by forcing her, by the Treaty of Kiel, January, 1814, to cede Norway to Sweden, which had sided with the conquerors. The condition of the Danish kingdom was, therefore, deplorable, indeed. By the loss of Norway her population was reduced one-third. Her trade was ruined, and her finances were in the greatest disorder.

The second dismemberment occurred fifty years later when Prussia and Austria declared war upon her in 1864, defeated her, and seized the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. Again she suffered grievously at the hands of the great military powers. Her territory was reduced by a third, her population by a million.

For a year Prussia and Austria governed the two provinces in common; for another year Prussia governed one, and Austria governed the other. Then Prussia and Austria went to war with each other in 1866. The former conquered the latter, expelled her from Germany, and incorporated both duchies outright in the Kingdom of Prussia.

Out of this annexation of half a century ago has

grown a question which will demand and ought to receive the attention of the world at this time of general reorganization. Holstein was inhabited by a population of about 600,000, who were German in race and language and sympathies. These people were glad to be united with Germany, though they would have preferred to enter the North German Confederation as a separate state, rather than be incorporated in the Kingdom of Prussia. The other province, Schleswig, had a mixed population. About 250,000 were Germans, about 150,000 were Danes. The latter desired to remain with Denmark and, had the principle of nationality been observed, they would have been permitted to. They spoke the Danish language, were Danish in blood, and were located in the northern part of Schleswig, contiguous to Denmark.

It seemed at one moment as if their wishes would be satisfied, the justice of their claims being so obvious and unimpeachable. A provision was inserted in the Treaty of Prague which terminated the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 to the effect "that the people of the northern district of Schleswig shall be again reunited with Denmark if they shall, by a popular vote, express the desire to be." This provision was inserted on the insistence of Austria, at the moment that she was, under compulsion, leaving Germany. Had it been observed, there would have been no Schleswig question demanding solution in our day.

But the promise that the people concerned might decide their future allegiance was never kept. This provision was a dead letter for twelve years, from

1866 to 1878. Then in 1878 it was abrogated by the two powers, Germany and Austria, neither of which consulted the wishes of the Schleswigers. In that year Bismarck was able to render certain services to Austria in the Balkans, and in return he asked that Austria consent to "revise" this clause by formally declaring it "null and void." Austria agreed, and thus the Schleswigers were left to the mercy of Prussia.

Since that day the Prussian Government has oppressed the Danes of Schleswig as it has oppressed the people of Alsace-Lorraine, as it has long oppressed the Poles, acquired in the three infamous partitions of the eighteenth century. Prussia has ruled despotically. She has made every effort to stamp out the Danish language, to prevent its being taught in the schools, although it was the mother tongue of those attending them. In 1889 it was forbidden to teach Danish under any circumstances whatever. Nor might any Schleswig family engage a Danish tutor for purposes of private instruction. Even parents were liable to prosecution if they gave systematic instruction in Danish to their children. Nor were they permitted to send their children to Denmark to be educated. For fifty years the people of North Schleswig have been subjected to this ignoble and pitiless persecution, but they have not been Germanized or Prussianized. However, being few in numbers, less than 200,000, their grievances could gain no hearing, no redress. In the fall of 1918, when Germany collapsed, these long maltreated people demanded that Prussia renounce all claims to

them, and that they should be allowed to be united with their kin in the kingdom of Denmark. Whether their demand would be granted by the world in diplomatic congress assembled remained to be seen.

Sweden and Norway

Another outstanding feature of recent Scandinavian history has been the relation of Sweden and Norway toward each other. We have seen that in 1814 Norway was torn from Denmark by the conquerors of Napoleon and given to Sweden. The Norwegians were not consulted in this transaction. They were regarded as a negligible quantity, a passive pawn in the international game, a conception that proved erroneous, for no sooner did they hear that they were being handed by outsiders from Denmark to Sweden than they protested, and proceeded to organize resistance. Claiming that the Danish King's renunciation of the crown of Norway restored that crown to themselves, they proceeded to elect a king of their own, May 17, 1814, and they adopted a liberal constitution, the Constitution of Eidsvold, establishing a Parliament, or Storthing.

But the King of Sweden, to whom this country had been assigned by the consent of the powers, did not propose to be deprived of it by act of the Norwegians themselves. He sent the Crown Prince, Bernadotte, into Norway to take possession. A war resulted between the Swedes and the Norwegians, the latter being victorious. Thereupon the great powers intervened so peremptorily that the newly elected

Norwegian king, Christian, resigned his crown into the hands of the Storthing. The Storthing then acquiesced in the union with Sweden, but only after having formally elected the King of Sweden as the King of Norway, thus asserting its sovereignty, and also after the King had promised to recognize the Constitution of 1814, which the Norwegians had given themselves.

Thus there was no fusion of Norway and Sweden. There were two kingdoms and one king. The same person was King of Sweden and King of Norway, but he governed each according to its own laws, and by means of separate ministries. No Swede could hold office in Norway, no Norwegian in Sweden. Each country had its separate constitution, its separate parliament. In Sweden the Parliament, or Diet, consisted of four houses, representing respectively the nobility, the clergy, the cities, and the peasantry. In Norway the Parliament, or Storthing, consisted of two chambers. Sweden had a strong aristocracy, Norway only a small and feeble one. Swedish government and society were aristocratic and feudal, Norwegian very democratic. Norway, indeed, was a land of peasants, who owned their farms, and fisherfolk, sturdy, simple, independent. Each country had its own language, each its own capital, that of Sweden at Stockholm, that of Norway at Christiania.

The two kingdoms, therefore, were very dissimilar, with their different languages, different institutions, and different conditions. They had in common a king, and ministers of war and foreign affairs. The

connection between the two countries, limited as it was, led during the century to frequent and bitter disagreements, ending a few years ago in their final separation.

Under Oscar II, who ruled from 1872 to 1907, the relations between Sweden and Norway became acute, leading finally to complete rupture. Friction between them had existed ever since 1814, and had provoked frequent crises. The fundamental cause had lain in the different conceptions prevalent among the two peoples as to the real nature of the union effected in that year. The Swedes maintained that Norway was unqualifiedly ceded to them by the Treaty of Kiel in 1814; that they later were willing to recognize that the Norwegians should have a certain amount of independence; that they, nevertheless, possessed certain rights in Norway and preponderance in the Union. The Norwegians, on the other hand, maintained that the Union rested, not upon the Treaty of Kiel, a treaty between Denmark and Sweden, but upon their own act; that they had been independent, and had drawn up a constitution for themselves, the Constitution of Eidsvold; that they had voluntarily united themselves with Sweden by freely electing the King of Sweden as King of Norway; that there was no fusion of the two states; that Sweden had no power in Norway; that Sweden had no preponderance in the Union, but that the two states were on a plane of entire equality. With two such dissimilar views friction could not fail to develop, and it began immediately after 1814 on a question of trivial importance. The Norwegians were resolved to manage their own

internal affairs as they saw fit, without any intermixture of Swedish influence. But their King was also King of Sweden, and, as a matter of fact, lived in Sweden most of the time, and was rarely seen in Norway. Moreover, Sweden was in population much the larger partner in this uncomfortable union.

By the Constitution of Eidsvold the King had only a suspensive veto over the laws of the Storthing, the Norwegian parliament. Any law could be enacted over that veto if passed by three successive Storthings, with intervals of three years between the votes. The process was slow, but sufficient to insure victory in any cause in which the Norwegians were in earnest. It was thus that, despite the King's veto, they carried through the abolition of the Norwegian nobility. Contests between the Storthing and the King of Norway, occurring from time to time, over the question of the national flag, of annual sessions, and other matters, kept alive the antipathy of the Norwegians to the Union. Meanwhile, their prosperity increased. Particularly did they develop an important commerce. One-fourth of the merchant marine of the continent of Europe passed gradually into their hands. This gave rise to a question more serious than any that had hitherto arisen—that of the consular service.

About 1892 began a fateful discussion over the question of the consular service. The Norwegian Parliament demanded a separate consular service for Norway to be conducted by itself, to care for Norway's commercial interests, so much more important than those of Sweden. This the King would not grant, on

the ground that it would break up the Union, that Sweden and Norway could not have two foreign policies. The conflict thus begun dragged on for years, embittering the relations of the Norwegians and the Swedes and inflaming passions until in 1905 (June 7) the Norwegian Parliament declared unanimously "that the Union with Sweden under one king has ceased." The war feeling in Sweden was strong, but the Government finally decided, in order to avoid the evils of a conflict, to recognize the dissolution of the Union, on condition that the question of separation should be submitted to the people of Norway. Sweden held that there was no proof that the Norwegian people desired this, but was evidently of the opinion that the whole crisis was simply the work of the Storthing. That such an opinion was erroneous was established by the vote on August 13, 1905, which showed over 368,000 in favor of separation and only 184 votes in opposition. A conference was then held at Carlstad to draw up a treaty or agreement of dissolution. This agreement provided that any disputes arising in the future between the two countries, which could not be settled by direct diplomatic negotiations, should be referred to the Hague International Arbitration Tribunal. It further provided for the establishment of a neutral zone along the frontiers of the two countries, on which no military fortifications should ever be erected.

Later in the year the Norwegians chose Prince Charles of Denmark, grandson of the then King of Denmark, as King of Norway. There was a strong feeling in favor of a republic, but it seemed clear that

the election of a king would be more acceptable to the monarchies of Europe, and would avoid all possibilities of foreign intervention. The new king assumed the name of Haakon VII, thus indicating the historical continuity of the independent kingdom of Norway which had existed in the Middle Ages. He took up his residence in Christiania.

On December 8, 1907, Oscar II, since 1905 King of Sweden only, died and was succeeded by his son as Gustavus V.

In 1909 Sweden took a long step toward democracy. A franchise reform bill, which had long been before Parliament, was finally passed. Manhood suffrage was established for the Lower House, and the qualifications for election to the Upper House were greatly reduced.

In Norway, men who have reached the age of twenty-five, and who have been residents of the country for five years, have the right to vote. By a constitutional amendment adopted in 1907 the right to vote for members of the Storthing was granted to women who meet the same qualifications, and who, in addition, pay, or whose husbands pay, a tax upon an income ranging from about seventy-five dollars in the country to about one hundred dollars in cities. About 300,000 of the 550,000 Norwegian women of the age of twenty-five or older thus secured the suffrage. They had previously enjoyed the suffrage in local elections.

Sweden has a population of about five and a half millions; Norway of less than two and a half millions.

Spain

In the Iberian peninsula are two of the lesser states of Europe, Spain and Portugal. Spain possesses a large territory and a population of twenty million, yet not since the sixteenth century has she played an important rôle in history. Between the Napoleonic period and the Franco-Prussian War her life flowed on heavily in the traditional channels of the old régime, of monarchical arbitrariness and pettiness, of intellectual and religious intolerance, of governmental incompetence, of economic lethargy. Against the stupidity and essential meaninglessness of such a system and against the monarch who personified it, Isabella II, a revolt finally broke out in 1868 which speedily drove the Queen into exile in France, whence she was not destined to return. The reign of the Spanish Bourbons was declared at an end, and universal suffrage, religious liberty, and freedom of the press were proclaimed.

Then began a troubled and changeful period which lasted several years. A national assembly was elected by universal suffrage and the future government of Spain was left to its determination. It pronounced in favor of a monarchy and against a republic. It then ransacked Europe for a king and finally chose Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern. His candidacy is important in history as having been the immediate occasion of the Franco-Prussian War. In the end Leopold declined the invitation.

In November, 1870, the crown was offered by a vote of 191 out of 311 to Amadeo, second son of Victor

Emmanuel II, King of Italy.[1] The smallness of the majority was ominous. The new king's reign was destined to be short and troubled. Landing in Spain at the close of 1870, he was coldly received. Opposition to him came from several sources—from the Republicans, who were opposed to any monarch; from the Carlists, who supported a pretender to the throne; from the supporters of Alfonso, son of Isabella, who held that he was the legitimate ruler. Amadeo was disliked also for the simple reason that he was a foreigner. The clergy attacked him for his adherence to constitutional principles of government. No strong body of politicians supported him. Ministries rose and fell with great rapidity, eight in two years, one of them lasting only seventeen days. Each change left the government more disorganized and more unpopular. Believing that the problem of giving peace to Spain was insoluble, and wearying of an uneasy crown, Amadeo, in February, 1873, abdicated.

Immediately the Cortes or Parliament declared Spain a republic by a vote of 258 to 32. But the advent of the Republic did not bring peace. Indeed, its history was brief and agitated. European powers, with the exception of Switzerland, withdrew their diplomatic representatives. The United States alone recognized the new government. The Republic lasted from February, 1873, to the end of December, 1874. It established a wide suffrage, proclaimed religious liberty, proposed the complete separation of Church and State, and voted unanimously for the immediate

[1] Sixty-three voted for a republic; the other votes were scattering or blank.

emancipation of slaves in Porto Rico. Then it fell.

The causes of its fall were numerous. The fundamental one was that the Spaniards had had no long political training, essential for efficient self-government, no true experience in party management. The leaders did not work together harmoniously. Moreover, the Republicans, once in power, immediately broke up into various groups, which fell to wrangling with each other. The enemies of the Republic were numerous: the Monarchists, the clergy, offended by the proclamation of religious liberty, all those who profited by the old régime and who resented the reforms which were threatened. Also, the problems that faced the new government increased the confusion. Three wars were in progress during the brief life of the Republic—a war in Cuba, a Carlist war, and a war with the Federalists in southern Spain.

Presidents succeeded each other rapidly. Figueras was in office four months, Pi y Margall six weeks, Salmeron and Castelar for short periods. Finally, Serrano became practically dictator. The fate of the Republic was determined by the generals of the army, the most powerful body in the country, who declared, in December, 1874, in favor of Alfonso, son of Isabella II. The Republic fell without a struggle. Alfonso, landing in Spain early in 1875, and being received in Madrid with great enthusiasm, assumed the government, promising a constitutional monarchy. Thus, six years after the dethronement of Isabella her son was welcomed back as king. The new king was now seventeen years of age. His reign lasted ten years, until his death in November, 1885. In 1876 a new

constitution was voted, the last in the long line of ephemeral documents issuing during the century from either monarch or Cortes or revolutionary junta. Still in force, the Constitution of 1876 creates a responsible ministry, and a Parliament of two chambers. Spain possesses the machinery of parliamentary government, ministries rising and falling according to the votes of Parliament. Practically, however, the political welfare is largely mimic, determined by the desire for office, not by devotion to principles or policies.

Alfonso XII died in 1885. His wife, an Austrian princess, Maria Christina, was proclaimed regent for a child born a few months later, the present King, Alfonso XIII. Maria Christina, during the sixteen years of her regency, confronted many difficulties. Of these the most serious was the condition of Cuba, Spain's chief colony. An insurrection had broken out in that island in 1868, occasioned by gross misgovernment by the mother country. This Cuban war dragged on for ten years, cost Spain nearly 100,000 men and $200,000,000 and was only ended in 1878 by means of lavish bribes and liberal promises of reform in the direction of self-government. As these promises were not fulfilled, and as the condition of the Cubans became more unendurable, another rebellion broke out in 1895. This new war, prosecuted with great and savage severity by Weyler, ultimately aroused the United States to intervene in the interests of humanity and civilization. A war resulted between the United States and Spain in 1898, which proved most disastrous to the latter. Her naval power was annihilated in the battles of Santiago and Cavite; her army in

Santiago was forced to surrender, and she was compelled to sign the Treaty of Paris of 1898, by which she renounced Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippine Islands. The Spanish Empire, which at the opening of the nineteenth century bulked large on the map of the world, comprising immense possessions in America and the islands of both hemispheres, has disappeared. Revolts in Central and South America, beginning when Joseph Napoleon became king in 1808, and ending with Cuban independence ninety years later, have left Spain with the mere shreds of her former possessions, Rio de Oro, Rio Muni in western Africa, some land about her ancient *presidios* in Morocco, and a few small islands off the African coast. The disappearance of the Spanish colonial empire is one of the most significant features of the nineteenth century. Once one of the great world powers, Spain is to-day a state of inferior rank.

In 1902 the present King, Alfonso XIII, formally assumed the reins of government. He married in May, 1906, a member of the royal family of England, Princess Ena of Battenberg. Profound and numerous reforms are necessary to range the country in the line of progress. Though universal suffrage was established in 1890, political conditions and methods have not changed. Illiteracy is widespread. Out of a population of 20,000,000 perhaps 12,000,000 are illiterate. In recent years attempts have been made to improve this situation; also to reduce the influence of the Roman Catholic Church in the state. Nothing important has yet been accomplished in this direction. Liberty of public worship has only recently been secured for the members of other churches.

Portugal

Portugal, too, the other Iberian state, droned along during most of the nineteenth century, under incompetent rulers and selfish and unenlightened privileged classes, the dreary monotony of her life only relieved by an occasional national calamity, as when, in 1822, her leading colony, Brazil, revolted and launched out upon an independent career as an Empire. Several reigns followed each other, turbulent in a petty way, or mild and uneventful, as the case might be.

But, as the century wore on, and particularly under the reign of Carlos I, from 1899 to 1908, there was a ruffling of the waters and certain radical parties, Republican, Socialist, grew up. Discontent with so stagnant a régime expressed itself increasingly by deeds of violence. The Government replied by becoming more and more arbitrary. The King, Carlos I, even assumed to alter the Charter of 1826, still the basis of Portuguese political life, by mere decree. The controversy between Liberals, Radicals, and Conservatives developed astounding bitterness. Parliamentary institutions ceased to work normally; necessary legislation could not be secured. On February 1, 1908, the King and the Crown Prince were assassinated in the streets of Lisbon. The King's second son, Manuel, succeeded him. Manuel's reign was brief, for in October, 1910, a revolution broke out in Lisbon. After several days of severe street fighting the monarchy was overthrown and a republic was proclaimed. The King escaped to England. Dr. Theophile Braga, a native of the Azores, and for over

forty years a distinguished man of letters, was chosen President. The constitution was remodeled and liberalized. The Church was separated from the State in 1911, and State payments for the maintenance and expenses of worship ceased.

Since 1910 Portugal, therefore, has been a republic. The problems confronting her are numerous and serious. She is burdened with an immense debt, disproportionate to her resources, and entailing oppressive taxation. Although primary education has been compulsory since 1911, over seventy per cent of the population over six years of age still remain illiterate. Portugal's population is about six millions. She has small colonial possessions in Asia and extensive ones in Africa, which have thus far proved of little value. The Azores and Madeira are not colonies, but are integral parts of the Republic.

Portugal was destined to play a minor but honorable rôle in the European War, side by side with the Allies.

The only other small states in Europe, besides those mentioned in this chapter, are the ones which have arisen during the nineteenth century in the Balkan peninsula, and whose history we will now examine.

CHAPTER XI

THE DISRUPTION OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE RISE OF THE BALKAN STATES

While the nineteenth century saw thirty and more separate states fused into the federated German Empire, and the ten states of the Italian peninsula fused into the unified Kingdom of Italy, the same century witnessed the disruption of another Empire, Turkey, and the early twentieth century saw its almost complete disappearance from the soil of Europe. While the map of central Europe was greatly simplified, the map of southeastern Europe became more diversified. While in Germany and Italy small states were being united, European Turkey was being broken up into small states.

In 1815 Turkey in Europe extended from the Black Sea and the Ægean west to the Adriatic, and from the Mediterranean north to the River Danube and, even north of the Danube, including what we know as Roumania. In other words, what the map of 1914 showed as Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, Albania, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Roumania, and Turkey in Europe (Constantinople and the region directly west of it), the map of 1815 showed as one solid color. All was Turkish. Turkey was the neighbor of Italy across the Adriatic, of Austria, across the

Danube, of Russia across the Pruth and the Black Sea. In the eighteenth century Turkey had extended still farther north, but Russia and Austria had despoiled her of some of her valuable lands. In the nineteenth century it was, in the main, her own subjects who rose against her, who tore her apart, and founded a number of independent states on soil that was formerly Turkish. The map of Europe shows no greater change as compared with the map of a hundred years ago than in the Balkan peninsula. That change is the product of a most eventful history, the solution thus far given to one of the most intricate and contentious problems European statesmen have ever had to consider, the Eastern Question; that is, the question of what should be done with the Turkish Empire.

The Turks, an Asiastic, Mohammedan people, had conquered southeastern Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and had subdued many different races; the Greeks, claiming descent from the Greeks of antiquity; the Roumanians, claiming descent from Roman colonists of the Empire; the Albanians, and various branches of the great Slavic race, the Serbians, Bulgarians, Bosnians, and Montenegrins. Full of contempt for those whom they had conquered, the Turks made no attempt to assimilate them or to fuse them into one body politic. They were satisfied with reducing them to subjection, and with exploiting them. These Christian peoples were effaced for several centuries beneath Mohammedan oppression, their property likely to be confiscated, their lives taken, whenever it suited their rulers. Naturally they hated their oppressors with a deathless hatred and

only waited for their hour of liberation. The wars through which they sought to gain their freedom began as early as 1804 in Serbia and lasted over into the twentieth century. The recent Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913, which were a prelude to the war of 1914, constituted only an additional chapter in a history that was long, bloody, turbulent, confused, and heroic.

Serbia

That history can only be summarized here. The Serbians were the first to rise against the Turks, as early as 1804. By their own unaided efforts, they were able, in 1820, to gain the recognition by the Sultan of one of their own number, Milosch Obrenovitch, as "Prince of the Serbians of the Pashalik of Belgrade." Milosch sought to make his title hereditary and to gain complete self-government for Serbia under the overlordship of the Sultan. This was achieved in 1830, to a considerable degree owing to the strong support given by Russia.

Thus, after many years of war and negotiations, Serbia ceased to be merely a Turkish province, and became a principality tributary to the Sultan, but self-governing, and with a princely house ruling by right of heredity—the house of Obrenovitch, which had succeeded in crushing the earlier house of Kara George. This was the first state to arise in the nineteenth century out of the dismemberment of European Turkey. Its capital was Belgrade.

The Greek War of Independence

The Greeks were the second of these Balkan peoples to rebel against the Turks. Rising in 1821, they fought a bitter and, on the whole, a losing war against their oppressors for several years. They were rescued from impending defeat by the intervention in 1827 of three great powers, England, Russia, and France. The three powers destroyed the Turkish fleet at the battle of Navarino. In the following year, 1828-9, Russia alone carried on a successful land war against the Turks. As the outcome of this series of events, Greece became a kingdom, entirely independent of Turkey, its independence guaranteed by the three powers Russia, England, and France (1830). Greece was thus the first of the Balkan states to gain complete independence. The Danubian principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, were made practically, though not nominally, independent. The Sultan's power in Europe was, therefore, considerably reduced. In 1833, Otto, a lad of seventeen, second son of King Louis I of Bavaria, became the first King of Greece. A new Christian state had thus been created in southeastern Europe.

Roumania

By the middle of the nineteenth century the only part of the Turkish Empire that had become independent was Greece; Serbia and Moldavia-Wallachia were semi-independent and aspired to become completely so. The two latter provinces shortly declared themselves united under the single name of Rou-

mania and, in 1866, they chose as their prince a member of the Roman Catholic branch of the Hohenzollern family, Charles I. This German prince, who was the ruler of Roumania until his death in 1914, was at that time twenty-seven years of age. He at once set to work to study the conditions of his newly adopted country, ably seconded in this by his wife, a German princess, whose literary gift was to win her a great reputation, and was to be used in the interest of Roumania. As "Carmen Sylva" she wrote poems and stories, published a collection of Roumanian folklore, and encouraged the national idea by showing her preference for the native Roumanian dress and for old Roumanian customs.

Charles I was primarily a soldier, and the great work of the early years of his reign was to build up the army, as he considered it essential if Roumania was to be really independent in her attitude toward Russia and Turkey. He increased the size of the army, equipped it with Prussian guns, and had it drilled by Prussia officers. The wisdom of this was apparent when the Eastern Question was again reopened.

Revolts in the Balkans

In 1875 the Eastern Question entered once more upon an acute phase. Movements began which were to have a profound effect upon the various sections of the peninsula. An insurrection broke out in the summer of that year in Herzegovina, a province west of Serbia. For years the peasantry had suffered from gross misrule. The oppression of the Turks became

so grinding and was accompanied by acts so barbarous and inhuman that the peasants finally rebelled. These peasants were Slavs, and as such were aided by Slavs from neighboring regions, Bosnia, Serbia, and Bulgaria. They were made all the more bitter because they saw Slavs in Serbia comparatively contented, as these were largely self-governed. Why should not they themselves enjoy as good conditions as others? Religious and racial hatred of Christian and Slav against the infidel Turk flamed up throughout the peninsula. Christians could not rest easy witnessing the outrages committed upon their co-religionists. And just at this time those outrages attained a ferocity that shocked all Europe.

Early in 1876 the Christians in Bulgaria, a large province of European Turkey, rose against the Turkish officials, killing some of them. The revenge taken by the Turks was of incredible atrocity. Pouring regular troops and the ferocious irregulars called Bashi-Bazouks into the province, they butchered thousands with every refinement or coarseness of brutality. In the valley of the Maritza all but fifteen of eighty villages were destroyed. In Batak, a town of 7,000 inhabitants, five thousand men, women, and children were savagely slaughtered with indescribable treachery and cruelty.

These Bulgarian atrocities thrilled all Europe with horror. Gladstone, emerging from retirement, denounced "the unspeakable Turk" in a flaming pamphlet. He demanded that England cease to support a government which was an affront to the laws of God, and urged that the Turks be expelled from

Europe "bag and baggage." The public opinion of Europe was aroused.

In July, 1876, Serbia and Montenegro declared war against Turkey, and the insurrection of the Bulgarians became general. The Russian people became intensely excited in their sympathy with their co-religionists and their fellow-Slavs. Finally the Russian Government declared war upon Turkey, April 24, 1877. The war lasted until the close of January, 1878. The chief feature of the campaign was the famous siege of Plevna, which the Turks defended for five months, but which finally surrendered. This broke the back of Turkish resistance and the Russians marched rapidly toward Constantinople. The Sultan sought peace, and on March 3, 1878, the Treaty of San Stefano was concluded between Russia and Turkey. By this treaty the Porte recognized the complete independence of Serbia, Montenegro, and Roumania, and made certain cessions of territory to the two former states. The main feature of the treaty concerned Bulgaria, which was made a self-governing state, tributary to the Sultan. Its frontiers were very liberally drawn. Its territory was to include nearly all of European Turkey, between Roumania and Serbia to the north, and Greece to the south. Only a broken strip across the peninsula, from Constantinople west to the Adriatic, was to be left to Turkey. The new state, therefore, was to include not only Bulgaria proper, but Roumelia to the south and most of Macedonia. Gladstone's desire for the expulsion of the Turks from Europe "bag and baggage" was nearly realized.

But this treaty was not destined to be carried out. The other powers objected to having the Eastern Question solved without their consent. England particularly, fearing Russian expansion southward toward the Mediterranean, and believing that Bulgaria and the other states would be merely tools of Russia, declared that the arrangements concerning the peninsula must be determined by the great European powers, that the Treaty of San Stefano must be submitted to a general congress on the ground that, according to the international law of Europe, the Eastern Question could not be settled by one nation, but only by the concert of powers, as it affected them all. Austria joined the protest, wishing a part of the spoils of Turkey for herself. Russia naturally objected to allowing those who had not fought to determine the outcome of her victory. But as the powers were insistent, particularly England, then under the Beaconsfield administration, and as she was in no position for further hostilities, she yielded. The Congress of Berlin was held under the presidency of Bismarck, Beaconsfield himself representing England. It drew up the Treaty of Berlin, which was signed July 13, 1878. By this treaty Montenegro, Serbia, and Roumania were rendered completely independent of Turkey. But Bulgaria was divided into three parts, one of which, called Macedonia, was handed back to Turkey, and another, called Eastern Roumelia, was to be still subject to the Sultan, but to have a Christian governor appointed by him. The third part, Bulgaria, was still to be nominally a part of Turkey, but was to elect its own prince and was to be self-

governing. The powers in making these arrangements were thinking neither of Turkey, nor of the happiness of the people who had long been oppressed by Turkey. The Congress of Berlin, like the Congress of Vienna of 1815, was indifferent or hostile to the legitimate national aspirations of oppressed peoples, and therefore its work has had the same fate, it has been undone in one particular and another and the process is continuing at the present moment, not yet quite completed. As far as humanitarian considerations were concerned, the disposition of Macedonia was a colossal blunder. Its people would have been far happier had they formed a part of Bulgaria. Owing to the rival ambitions of the great powers, Macedonia's Christians were destined long to suffer an odious oppression from which more fortunate Balkan Christians were free.

The same powers found the occasion convenient for taking various Turkish possessions for themselves. Austria was invited to "occupy" and administer Bosnia and Herzegovina. England was to "occupy" Cyprus. All these territories were nominally still a part of the Turkish Empire. Their position was anomalous, unclear, and destined to create trouble in the future.

On the other hand, the benefits assured by the Treaty of Berlin were considerable and they were due solely to Russia's intervention, though Russia herself drew little direct profit from her war. Three Balkan states, long in process of formation, Montenegro, Serbia, and Roumania, were declared entirely independent, and a new state, Bulgaria, had been

called into existence, though still slightly subject to the Porte. As a result of the treaty, European Turkey was greatly reduced, its population having shrunk from seventeen millions to six millions. In other words, eleven million people or more had been emancipated from Turkish control.

Bulgaria After 1878

The Treaty of Berlin, while it brought substantial advantages, did not bring peace to the Balkan peninsula. Though diminishing the possessions of the Sultan, it did not satisfy the ambitions of the various peoples, it did not expel the Turk from Europe and thus cut out the root of the evil. Abundant sources of trouble remained, as the next forty years were to show. The history of the various states since 1878, both in internal affairs and in their foreign relations, has been agitated; yet, despite disturbances, considerable progress has been made.

Bulgaria, of which Europe knew hardly anything in 1876, was, in 1878, made an autonomous state, but it did not attain complete independence, as it was nominally a part of the Turkish Empire, to which it was to pay tribute. The new principality owed its existence to Russia, and for several years Russian influence predominated in it. It was started on its career by Russian officials. A constitution was drawn up establishing an assembly called the Sobranje. This assembly chose, as Prince of Bulgaria, Alexander of Battenberg, a young German of twenty-two, a relative of the Russian Imperial House, supposedly acceptable to the Czar (April, 1879).

The Bulgarians were grateful to the Russians for their aid. They recognized those who remained after the war was over as having all the rights of Bulgarian citizens, among others the right to hold office. Russians held important positions in the Bulgarian ministry. They organized the military forces and became officers. Before long, however, friction developed, and gratitude gave way to indignation at the high-handed conduct of the Russians, who plainly regarded Bulgaria as a sort of province or outpost of Russia, to be administered according to Russian ideas and interests. The Russian ministers were arrogant, and made it evident that they regarded the Czar, not Prince Alexander, as their superior, whose wishes they were bound to execute. The Prince, the native army officers, and the people found their position increasingly humiliating. Finally, in 1883, the Russian ministers were virtually forced to resign, and the Prince now relied upon Bulgarian leaders. This caused an open breach with Russia, which was further widened by the action of the people of eastern Roumelia in 1885 in expressing their desire to be united with Bulgaria. Prince Alexander agreed to this and assumed the title of "Prince of the Two Bulgarias." The powers protested against this unification, and would not recognize the change, but they refrained from doing anything further.

Russia, however, incensed at the growing independence of the new state, which she looked upon as a mere satellite, resolved to read her a lesson in humility by organizing a conspiracy. The conspirators seized Prince Alexander in his bedroom in the

dead of night, forced him to sign his abdication, and then carried him off to Russian soil. Alexander was detained in Russia a short time, until it was supposed that the Russian party was thoroughly established in power in Bulgaria, when he was permitted to go to Austria. He was immediately recalled to Bulgaria, returned to receive an immense ovation, and then, at the height of his popularity, in a moment of weakness, abdicated, apparently overwhelmed by the continued opposition of Russia (September 7, 1886). The situation was most critical. Two parties advocating opposite policies confronted each other; one pro-Russian, believing that Bulgaria should accept in place of Alexander any prince whom the Czar should choose for her; the other, national and independent, rallying to the cry of "Bulgaria for the Bulgarians." The latter speedily secured control, fortunate in that it had a remarkable leader in the person of Stambuloff, a native, a son of an innkeeper, a man of extraordinary firmness, suppleness, and courage, vigorous and intelligent. Through him Russian efforts to regain control of the principality were foiled and a new ruler was secured, Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, twenty-six years of age, who was elected unanimously by the Sobranje, July 7, 1887. Russia protested against this action, and none of the great powers recognized Ferdinand. He was, however, destined to rule until his abdication in October, 1918.

Stambuloff was the most forceful statesman developed in the history of the Balkan states. He succeeded in keeping Bulgaria self-dependent. During the earlier years of his rule Ferdinand relied upon

him, and, indeed, owed to him his continuance on the throne. He won the pretentious title of "the Bulgarian Bismarck." His methods resembled those of his Teutonic prototype in more than one respect. For seven years he was practically dictator of Bulgaria. Russian plots continued. He repressed them pitilessly. His one fundamental principle was Bulgaria for the Bulgarians. His rule was one of terror, of suppression of liberties, of unscrupulousness, directed to patriotic ends. His object was to rid Bulgaria of Russian, as of Turkish, control. Bulgaria under him increased in wealth and population. The army received a modern equipment, universal military service was instituted, commerce was encouraged, railroads were built, popular education begun, and the capital, Sofia, a dirty, wretched Turkish village, made over into one of the attractive capitals of Europe. But Stambuloff made a multitude of enemies, and as a result he fell from power in 1894. In the following year he was foully murdered in the streets of Sofia. But he had done his work thoroughly, and it remains the basis of the life of Bulgaria to-day. The Turkish sovereignty was merely nominal, and even that was not destined to endure long. In March, 1896, the election of Ferdinand as Prince was finally recognized by the great powers. The preceding years had been immensely significant. They had thoroughly consolidated the unity of Bulgaria, had permitted her institutions to strike root, had accustomed her to independence of action, to self-reliance. Those years, too, had been used for the enrichment of the national life with the agencies

of the modern world, schools, railways, an army. Bulgaria had a population of about four million, a capital in Sofia, an area of about 38,000 square miles. She aspired to annex Macedonia, where, however, she was to encounter many rivals. She only awaited a favorable opportunity to renounce her nominal connection with Turkey. The opportunity came in 1908. On October 5th of that year Bulgaria declared her independence, and her Prince assumed the title of Czar. The later history of Bulgaria may best be considered in connection with the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913.

Roumania and Serbia After 1878

At the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war in 1877, Roumania declared herself entirely independent of Turkey. This independence was recognized by the Sultan and the powers at the Congress of Berlin on condition that all citizens should enjoy legal equality, whatever their religion, a condition designed to protect the Jews, who were numerous, but who had previously been without political rights.

In 1881 Roumania proclaimed herself a kingdom, and her prince henceforth styled himself King Charles I. The royal crown was made of steel from a Turkish gun captured at Plevna, a perpetual reminder of what was her war of independence. Roumania has created an army on Prussian models of about 500,000 men, has built railroads and highways, and has, by agrarian legislation, improved the condition of the peasantry. The population has steadily increased, and now numbers over seven millions. The area of Rou-

mania is about 53,000 square miles. While mainly an agricultural country, in recent years her industrial development has been notable, and her commerce is more important than that of any other Balkan state. Her government is a constitutional monarchy, with legislative chambers. The most important political question in recent years has been a demand for the reform of the electoral system, which resembles the Prussian three-class system, and which gives the direct vote to only a small fraction of the population. In 1907 the peasantry rose in insurrection, demanding agrarian reforms. As more than four-fifths of the population live upon the land, and as the population has steadily increased, the holding of each peasant has correspondingly decreased. A military force of 140,000 men was needed to quell the revolt. After having restored order, the ministry introduced and carried various measures intended to bring relief to the peasants from their severest burdens. King Charles I died on October 11, 1914, and was succeeded by his nephew, Ferdinand I.

Serbia, also, was recognized as independent by the Berlin Treaty in 1878. She proclaimed herself a kingdom in 1882. She has had a turbulent history in recent years. In 1885 she declared war against Bulgaria, only to be unexpectedly and badly defeated. The financial policy was deplorable. In seven years the debt increased from seven million to three hundred and twelve million francs. The scandals of the private life of King Milan utterly discredited the monarchy. He was forced to abdicate in 1889, and was succeeded by his twelve-year-old son, Alexander I,

who was brutally murdered in 1903 with his wife, Queen Draga, in a midnight palace revolution. The new king, Peter I, found his position for several years most unstable. A new and important chapter in the history of Serbia began with the Balkan War of 1912.

Greece After 1833

In January, 1833, Otto, second son of Louis I, the King of Bavaria, became King of Greece, a country of great poverty, with a population of about 750,000, unaccustomed to the reign of law and order usual in western Europe. The kingdom was small, with unsatisfactory boundaries, lacking Thessaly, which was peopled entirely by Greeks. The country had been devastated by a long and unusually sanguinary war. Internal conditions were anarchic. Brigandage was rife; the debt was large. The problem was, how to make out of such unpromising materials a prosperous and progressive state.

King Otto reigned from 1833 to 1862. He was aided in his government by many Bavarians, who filled important positions in the army and the civil service. This German influence was a primary cause of the unpopularity of the new régime. The beginnings were made, however, in the construction of a healthy national life. Athens was made the capital, and a university was established there. A police system was organized; a national bank created. In 1844 Otto was forced to consent to the conversion of his absolute monarchy into a constitutional one. A parliament with two chambers, the Deputies being

chosen by universal suffrage, was instituted. The political education of the Greeks then began.

From the reopening of the Eastern Question by the Crimean War, in 1854, Greece hoped to profit by the enlargement of her boundaries. The Great Powers, however, thought otherwise, and forced her to remain quiet. Because the Government did not defy Europe and insist upon her rights, which would have been an insane proceeding, it became very unpopular. For this reason, as well as for despotic tendencies, Otto was driven from power in 1862 by an insurrection, and left Greece, never to return.

A new king was secured in the person of a Danish prince, second son of the then King of Denmark. The new King, George I, ruled from 1863 to 1913. That his popularity might be strengthened at the very outset, England in 1864 ceded to the kingdom the Ionian Islands, which she had held since 1815. This was the first enlargement of the kingdom since its foundation. A new constitution was established (1864) which abolished the Senate and left all parliamentary power in the hands of a single assembly, the Boulé, elected by universal suffrage, and consisting of 192 members, with a four-year term. In 1881, mainly through the exertions of England, the Sultan was induced to cede Thessaly to Greece, and thus a second enlargement of territory occurred. This was in accordance with the promise of the Congress of Berlin that the Greek frontier should be "rectified."

In 1897 Greece declared war against Turkey, aiming at the annexation of Crete, which had risen in insurrection against Turkey. Greece was easily de-

feated, and was forced to cede certain parts of Thessaly to Turkey and give up the project of the annexation of Crete. After long negotiations among the powers, the latter island was made autonomous under the suzerainty of the Sultan, and under the direct administration of Prince George, a son of the King of Greece, who remained in power until 1906. A new problem, the Cretan, was thus pushed into the foreground of Greek politics.

The financial condition of Greece was not sound. Her debt grew enormously owing to armaments, the building of railroads, and the digging of canals. She, however, increased in population and much was accomplished in the direction of popular education. Several millions of Greeks live outside the Greek kingdom. Those inside are ambitious to have them included.

Serbian, Bulgarian, and Greek rivalries met in the plains of Macedonia, which each country coveted and which was inhabited by representatives of all these peoples, inextricably intermingled. The problem of Macedonia was further complicated by the rivalry of the great powers and by the revolution which broke out in Turkey itself in 1908.

Revolution in Turkey

The Eastern Question entered upon a new and startling phase in the summer of 1908. In July a swift, sweeping, and pacific revolution occurred in Turkey. The Young Turks, a revolutionary, constitutional party, dominated by the political principles

of western Europe, seized control of the government, to the complete surprise of the diplomatists and public of Europe. This party consisted of those who had been driven from Turkey by the despotism of the Sultan, Abdul Hamid II, and were resident abroad, chiefly in Paris, and of those who, still living in Turkey, dissembled their opinions and were able to escape expulsion. Its members desired the overthrow of the despotic, corrupt, and inefficient government, and the creation in its place of a modern liberal system, capable, by varied and thoroughgoing reforms, of ranging Turkey among progressive nations. Weaving their conspiracy in silence and with remarkable adroitness, they succeeded in drawing into it the Turkish army, hitherto the solid bulwark of the Sultan's power. Then, at the ripe moment, the army refused to obey the Sultan's orders, and the conspirators demanded peremptorily by telegraph that the Sultan restore the Constitution of 1876, a constitution which had been granted by the Sultan in that year merely to enable him to weather a crisis, and which, having quickly served the purpose, had been immediately suspended and had remained suspended ever since. The Sultan, seeing the ominous defection of the army, complied at once with the demands of the Young Turks, "restored," on July 24, the Constitution of 1876, and ordered elections for a parliament which should meet in November. Thus an odious tyranny was instantly swept away. It was a veritable *coup d'état,* this time effected, not by some would-be autocrat, but by the army, usually the chief support of despotism or of the

authority of the monarch, now, apparently, the main instrument for the achievement of freedom for the democracy. This military revolution, completely successful and almost bloodless, was received with incredible enthusiasm throughout the entire breadth of the Sultan's dominions. Insurgents and soldiers, Mohammedans and Christians, Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians, Albanians, Armenians, Turks, all joined in jubilant celebrations of the release from intolerable conditions. The most astonishing feature was the complete subsidence of the racial and religious hatreds which had hitherto torn and ravaged the Empire from end to end. The revolution proved to be the most fraternal movement in modern history. Picturesque and memorable were the scenes of universal reconciliation. The ease and suddenness with which this astounding change was effected proved the universality of the detestation of the reign and methods of Abdul Hamid II throughout all his provinces and among all his peoples.

Was this the beginning of a new era or was it the beginning of the end of the Turkish Empire? It will be more convenient to examine this question a little later.

CHAPTER XII

RUSSIA TO THE WAR WITH JAPAN

Russia, a century ago, was the largest state in Europe, and was a still larger Asiatic empire. It extended in unbroken stretch from the German Confederation to the Pacific Ocean. Its population was about 45,000,000. Its European territory covered about 2,000,000 square miles. It was inhabited by a variety of races, but the principal one was the Slavic. Though there were many religions, the religion of the court and of more than two-thirds of the population was the so-called Greek Orthodox form of Christianity. Though various languages were spoken, Russian was the chief one. The Russians had conquered many peoples in various directions. A considerable part of the former Kingdom of Poland had been acquired in the three partitions at the close of the eighteenth century, and more in 1815. Here the people spoke a different language, the Polish, and adhered to a different religion, the Roman Catholic. In the Baltic provinces, Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland, the upper class was of German origin and spoke the German language, while the mass of peasants were Finns and Lithuanians, speaking different tongues. All the inhabitants were Lutherans. Finland had recently been conquered from Sweden. The

languages spoken there were Swedish and Finnish, and the religion was Lutheran. To the east and south were peoples of Asiatic origin, many of them Mohammedans in religion. There were in certain sections considerable bodies of Jews.

All these dissimilar elements were bound together by their allegiance to the sovereign, the Czar, a monarch of absolute, unlimited power.

There were two classes of society in Russia—the nobility and the peasantry. The large majority of the latter were serfs of the Czar and the nobility. The nobility numbered about 140,000 families. The nobles secured offices in the army and the civil service. They were exempt from many taxes, and enjoyed certain monopolies. Their power over their serfs was extensive and despotic. They enforced obedience to their orders by the knout and by banishment to Siberia. The middle class of well-to-do and educated people, increasingly important in the other countries of Europe, practically did not exist in Russia. Russia was an agricultural country, whose agriculture, moreover, was very primitive and inefficient. It was a nation of serfs and of peasants little better off than the serfs. This class was wretched, uneducated, indolent, prone to drink excessively. In the "mir," or village community, however, it possessed a rudimentary form of communism and limited self-government.

Over this vast and ill-equipped nation ruled the Autocrat of All the Russias, or Czar, an absolute monarch, whose decisions, expressed in the form of ukases or decrees, were the law of the land, and the

autocrats of the nineteenth century ruled, in the main, as had the autocrats of the eighteenth, making no improvements, or only fleeting ones, in the drab and dull régime, which weighed heavily and hatefully upon the people, barring the way to all progress, political or economic or intellectual. Poverty and ignorance characterized the masses, improvidence and selfishness the upper classes, incompetence and intolerance the governing authorities. The state was honeycombed with abuses which, obviously, must be reformed if Russia was to prosper.

Yet decade after decade the old complacent, unintelligent system persisted. Not until after the middle of the nineteenth century was any breach made in this citadel of reaction and oppression, not until the reign of Alexander II, a reign that lasted from 1855 to 1881, a reign that for a while aroused the highest hopes, so liberal and energetic did it bid fair to be, so rich in important and promising achievement, only, at last, unfortunately, to be stricken with lassitude, and to end in tragedy. That reign, however, merits some description, because of the light it throws upon the formidable problems of Russia and the later history of that country.

Alexander II was, unlike his immediate predecessor and unlike most of the Romanoff rulers, of an open mind, desirous of ameliorating the conditions of Russian life. His courage and enlightenment were shown when, shortly after coming to the throne, he attacked the great national evil, serfdom.

Nearly all, practically nine-tenths, of the arable land of Russia was owned by the imperial family and by

the one hundred and forty thousand families of the nobility. The land was, therefore, generally held in large estates. It was owned by a small minority; it was tilled by the millions of Russia who were serfs. It was easy for the Emperor to free the crown serfs, about 23,000,000, since no one could question the right of the State to do what it would with its own. Consequently the crown serfs were freed by a series of measures covering several years, 1859 to 1866. But the Edict of Emancipation, which was to constitute Alexander II's most legitimate title to fame, concerned the serfs of private landowners, the nobles. There were about 23,000,000 of these, also. The private landlords reserved a part of their land for themselves, requiring the serfs to work it without pay, generally three days a week. The rest of the land was turned over to the serfs, who cultivated it on their own account, getting therefrom what support they could, hardly enough, as a matter of fact, for sustenance. The serfs were not slaves in the strict sense of the word. They could not be sold separately. But they were attached to the soil, could not leave it without the consent of the owner, and passed, if he sold his estate, to the new owner. The landlord otherwise had practically unlimited authority over his serfs. They possessed no rights which, in practice, he was bound to respect. Such a system, it is needless to say, offended the conscience of the age.

On March 3, 1861, the Edict of Emancipation was issued. It abolished serfdom throughout the Empire, and it won for Alexander the popular title of "the Czar Liberator." This manifesto did not merely

declare the serfs free men; but it undertook also to solve the far more difficult problem of the ownership of the soil. The Czar felt that merely to give the serfs freedom, and to leave all the land in the possession of the nobles, would mean the creation of a great proletariat possessing no property, therefore likely to fall at once into a position of economic dependence upon the nobles, which would make the gift of freedom a mere mockery. Moreover, the peasants were firmly convinced that they were the rightful owners of the lands which they and their ancestors for centuries had lived upon and cultivated, and the fact that the landlords were legally the owners did not alter their opinion. To give them freedom without land, leaving that with the nobles, who desired to retain it, would be bitterly resented as making their condition worse than ever. On the other hand, to give them the land with their freedom would mean the ruin of the nobility as a class, considered essential to the State. The consequence of this conflict of interests was a compromise, satisfactory to neither party, but more favorable to the nobility than to the peasants.

The lands were divided into two parts. The landlords were to keep one; the other was to go to the peasants, either individually, or collectively, as members of the village community or *mir* to which they belonged. But this was not given them outright; the peasant and the village must pay the landlord for the land assigned them. As they were not in a position to do this the State was to advance the money, getting it back from the peasant and the *mir* in easy

installments. These installments were to run for forty-nine years, at the end of which time they would cease and the peasant and the *mir* would then own outright the lands they had acquired.

The arrangement was a great disappointment to the peasants. Their newly acquired freedom seemed a doubtful boon in the light of this method of dividing the land. Indeed, they could not see that they were profiting from the change. Personal liberty would not mean much, when the conditions of earning a livelihood became harder rather than lighter. The peasants regarded the land as their own. But the State guaranteed forever a part to the landlords and announced that the peasants must pay for the part assigned to themselves. To the peasants this seemed sheer robbery. Moreover, as the division worked out, they found that they had less land for their own use than in the preëmancipation days, and that they had to pay the landlords, through the State, more than the lands which they did receive were worth. The Edict of Emancipation did not therefore bring either peace or prosperity to the peasants. The land question became steadily more acute during the next fifty years owing to the vast increase of population and the consequent greater pressure upon the land. The Russian peasant lived necessarily upon the verge of starvation.

The emancipation of the serfs is seen, therefore, not to have been an unalloyed boon. Yet Russia gained morally in the esteem of other nations by abolishing an indefensible wrong. Theoretically, at least, every man was free. Moreover, the peasants,

though faring ill, yet fared better than had the peasants of Prussia and Austria at the time of their liberation.

The abolition of serfdom was the greatest act of Alexander II's reign, but it was only one of several liberal measures enacted at that time of general enthusiasm. A certain amount of local self-government was granted, reforms in the judicial system were carried through, based upon a study of the systems of Europe and the United States, the censorship of the press was relaxed, educational facilities were somewhat developed.

This hopeful era of reform was, however, soon over, and a period of reaction began, which characterized the latter half of Alexander's reign and ended in his assassination in 1881. There were several causes for this change: the vacillating character of the monarch himself, taking fright at his own work; the disappointment felt by many who had expected a millennium, but who found it not; the intense dislike of the privileged and conservative classes of the measures just described.

Just at this time, when the attitude of the Emperor was changing, when public opinion was in this fluid, uncertain state, occurred an event which immensely strengthened the reactionary forces, a new insurrection of Poland. The Poles had attempted to gain their independence once more in 1831, but they had been easily conquered and had lost what few liberties had been previously given them. After the failure of their attempt the Poles had remained quiet, the quiet of despair. For a generation they were ruled

with the greatest severity, and they could not but see the impracticability of any attempt to throw off their chains. But the accession of Alexander II aroused hopes of better conditions. The spirit of nationalism revived, greatly encouraged by the success of the same spirit elsewhere. The Italians had just realized their aspiration, the creation of an Italian nation—not solely by their own efforts, but by the aid of foreign nations. Might not the Poles hope for as much? Alexander would not for a moment entertain the favorite idea of the Poles, that they should be independent. He emphatically told them that such a notion was an idle dream, that they "must abandon all thoughts of independence, now and forever impossible." This uncompromising attitude, coupled with repressive measures, irritated the Poles to the point of desperation. Finally in 1863 an insurrection broke out, aiming at independence. It was put down with vigor and without mercy. The only hope for the Poles lay in foreign intervention, but in this they were bitterly disappointed. England, France, and Austria intervened three times in their behalf, but only by diplomatic notes, making no attempt to give emphasis to their notes by a show of force. Russia, seeing this, and supported by Prussia, treated their intervention as an impertinence, and proceeded to wreak her vengeance. It was a fearful punishment she meted out.

A process of Russification was now vigorously pursued. The Russian language was prescribed for the correspondence of the officials and the lectures of the university professors, and the use of Polish was for-

bidden in churches, schools, theaters, newspapers, on business signs, in fact, everywhere.

It was not long before Alexander, always vacillating, gave up all dallying with reforms and relapsed into the traditional repressive ways of Russian monarchs. This reaction aroused intense discontent and engendered a movement which threatened the very existence of the monarchy itself, namely, Nihilism.

The Nihilists belonged to the intellectual class of Russia. Reading the works of the more radical philosophers and scientists of western Europe, and reflecting upon the foundations of their own national institutions and conditions, they became most destructive critics. They were extreme individualists, who tested every human institution and custom by reason. As few Russian institutions could meet such a test, the Nihilists condemned them all. Theirs was an attitude, first of intellectual challenge, then of revolt against the whole established order. Shortly, Socialism was grafted upon this hatred of all established institutions. In the place of the existing society, which must be swept away, a new society was to be erected, based on socialistic principles. Thus the movement entered upon a new phase. It ceased to be merely critical and destructive. It became constructive as well, in short, a political party with a positive programme, a party very small but resolute and reckless, willing to resort to any means to achieve its aims.

This party now determined to institute an educational campaign in Russia, realizing that nothing could be done unless the millions of peasants were

shaken out of their stolid acquiescence in the prevalent order which weighed so heavily upon them. This extraordinary movement, called "going in among the people," became very active after 1870. Young men and women, all belonging to the educated class, and frequently to noble families, became day laborers and peasants in order to mingle with the people, to arouse them to action, "to found," as one of their documents said, "on the ruins of the present social organization the empire of the working classes." They showed the self-sacrifice, the heroism of the missionary laboring under the most discouraging conditions. It is estimated that, between 1872 and 1878, between two and three thousand such missionaries were active in this propaganda. Their efforts, however, were not rewarded with success. The peasantry remained stolid, if not contented. Moreover, this campaign of education and persuasion was broken up wherever possible by the ubiquitous and lawless police. Many were imprisoned or exiled to Siberia.

A pacific propaganda being impossible, one of violence seemed to the more energetic spirits the only alternative. As the Government held the people in a subjection unworthy of human beings, as it employed all its engines of power against everyone who demanded reform of any kind, as, in short, it ruled by terror, these reformers resolved to fight it with terror as the only method possible. The "Terrorists" were not bloodthirsty or cruel by nature. They simply believed that no progress whatever could be made in raising Russia from her misery except by

getting rid of the more unscrupulous officials. They perfected their organization and entered upon a period of violence. Numerous attempts, often successful, were made to assassinate the high officials, chiefs of police and others who had rendered themselves particularly odious. In turn many of the revolutionists were executed.

Finally the terrorists determined to kill the Czar as the only way of overthrowing the whole hated arbitrary and oppressive system. Several attempts were made. In April, 1879, a schoolmaster, Solovief, fired five shots at the Emperor, none of which took effect. In December of the same year a train on which he was supposed to be returning from the Crimea was wrecked, just at it reached Moscow, by a mine placed between the rails. Alexander escaped only because he had reached the capital secretly on an earlier train. The next attempt (February, 1880), was to kill him while at dinner in the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg. Dynamite was exploded, ten soldiers were killed and fifty-three wounded in the guard-room directly overhead, and the floor of the dining-room was torn up. The Czar narrowly escaped, because he did not go to dinner at the usual hour.

St. Petersburg was by this time thoroughly terrorized. Alexander now appointed Loris Melikoff practically dictator. Melikoff sought to inaugurate a milder régime. He released hundreds of prisoners, and in many cases commuted the death sentence. He urged the Czar to grant the people some share in the government, believing that this would kill the Nihilist movement, which was a violent expression

of the discontent of the nation with the abuses of an arbitrary and lawless system of government. He urged that this could be done without weakening the principle of autocracy, and that thus Alexander would win back the popularity he had enjoyed during his early reforming years. After much hesitation and mental perturbation the Czar ordered, March 13, 1881, Melikoff's scheme to be published in the official journal. But on that same afternoon, as he was returning from a drive, escorted by Cossacks, a bomb was thrown at his carriage. The carriage was wrecked, and many of his escorts were injured. Alexander escaped as by a miracle, but a second bomb exploded near him as he was going to aid the injured. He was horribly mangled, and died within an hour. Thus perished the Czar Liberator. At the same time the hopes of the Liberals perished also. This act of supreme violence did not intimidate the successor to the throne, Alexander III, whose entire reign was one of stern repression.

The Reign of Alexander III

The man who now ascended the throne of Russia was in the full flush of magnificent manhood. Alexander III, son of Alexander II, was thirty-six years of age, and of powerful physique. His education had been chiefly military. He was a man of firm and resolute rather than large or active mind.

It shortly became clear that he possessed a strong, inflexible character, that he was a thorough believer in absolutism, and was determined to maintain it un-

diminished. He assumed an attitude of defiant hostility to innovators and liberals. His reign, which lasted from 1881 to 1894, was one of reversion to the older ideals of government and of unqualified absolutism.

The terrorists were hunted down, and their attempts practically ceased. The press was thoroughly gagged, university professors and students were watched, suspended, exiled, as the case might be. The reforms of Alexander II were in part undone, and the secret police, the terrible Third Section, was greatly augmented. Liberals gave up all hope of any improvement during this reign, and waited for better days. Under Alexander III began the inhuman persecutions of the Jews which have been so dark a feature of recent Russian history. The great Jewish emigration to the United States dates from this time.

In one sphere only was there any progress in this bleak, stern reign. That sphere was the economic. An industrial revolution began then which was carried much further under its successor. Russia had been for centuries an agricultural country whose agriculture, moreover, was of the primitive type. Whatever industries existed were mainly of the household kind. Russia was one of the poorest countries in the world, her immense resources being undeveloped. Under the system of protection adopted by Alexander II, and continued and increased by Alexander III, industries of a modern kind began to grow up. A tremendous impetus was given to this development by the appointment in 1892 as Minister of Finance

and Commerce of Sergius de Witte. Witte believed that Russia, the largest and most populous country in Europe, a world in itself, ought to be self-sufficient, that as long as it remained chiefly agricultural it would be tributary to the industrial nations for manufactured articles, that it had abundant resources, in raw material and in labor, to enable it to supply its own needs if they were but developed. He believed that this development could be brought about by the adoption of a policy of protection. Was not the astonishing industrial growth of Germany and of the United States convincing proof of the value of such a policy? By adopting it for Russia, by encouraging foreigners to invest heavily in the new protected industries, by showing them that their rewards would inevitably be large, he began and carried far the economic transformation of his country. Immense amounts of foreign capital poured in and Russia advanced industrially in the closing decade of the nineteenth century with great swiftness.

One thing more was necessary. Russia's greatest lack was good means of communication. She now undertook to supply this want by extensive railway building. For some years before Witte assumed office, Russia was building less than 400 miles of railway a year; from that time on for the rest of the decade, she built nearly 1,400 miles a year. The most stupendous of these undertakings was that of a trunk line connecting Europe with the Pacific Ocean, the great Trans-Siberian railroad. For this Russia borrowed vast sums of money in western Europe, principally in France. Begun in 1891, the road was for-

mally opened in 1902. It has reduced the time and cost of transportation to the East about one-half. In 1912 Russia possessed over 46,000 miles of railway, nearly 34,000 of which were owned and operated by the Government.

This tremendous change in the economic life of the Empire was destined to have momentous consequences, some of which were quickly apparent. Cities grew rapidly, a large laboring class developed, and labor problems of the kind familiar to Western countries, socialistic theories, spread among the working people; also a new middle class of capitalists and manufacturers was created which might some day demand a share in the government. These new forces would, in time, threaten the old, illiberal, unprogressive régime which had so long kept Russia stagnant and profoundly unhappy. That the old system was being undermined was not, however, apparent, and might not have been for many years had not Russia, ten years after Alexander's death, become involved in a disastrous and humiliating war with Japan.

The Reign of Nicholas II

Alexander III died in 1894, and was succeeded by his son, Nicholas II, then twenty-six years of age. The hope was general that a milder régime might now be introduced. This, however, was not to be. For ten years the young Czar pursued the policy of his father with scarcely a variation save in the direction of greater severity. A suggestion that representative institutions might be granted was declared

"a senseless dream." The government was not one of law, but of arbitrary power. Its instruments were a numerous and corrupt body of state officials and a ruthless, active police. No one was secure against arrest, imprisonment, exile. The most elementary personal rights were lacking.

The professional and educated man was in an intolerable position. If a professor in a university, he was watched by the police, and was likely to be removed at any moment as was Professor Milyoukov, an historian of distinguished attainments, for no other reason than "generally noxious tendencies." If an editor, his position was even more precarious, unless he was utterly servile to the authorities. It was a suffocating atmosphere for any man of the slightest intellectual independence, living in the ideas of the present age. The censorship grew more and more rigorous, and included such books as Green's *History of England* and Bryce's *American Commonwealth.* Arbitrary arrests of all kinds increased from year to year as the difficulty of thoroughly bottling up Russia increased. Students were the objects of special police care, as it was the young and ardent and educated who were most indignant at this senseless despotism. Many of them disappeared, in one year as many as a fifth of those in the University of Moscow, probably sent to Siberia or to prisons in Europe.

A government of this kind was not likely to err from excess of sympathy with the subject nationalities, such as the Poles and the Finns. In Finland, indeed, its arbitrary course attained its climax. Finland had been acquired by Russia in 1809, but on

liberal terms. It was not incorporated in Russia, but continued a Grand Duchy, with the Emperor of Russia as simply Grand Duke. It had its own Parliament, its Fundamental Laws or constitution, to which the Grand Duke swore fidelity. These Fundamental Laws could not be altered or interpreted or repealed except with the consent of the Diet and the Grand Duke. Finland was a constitutional state, governing itself, connected with Russia in the person of its sovereign. It had its own army, its own currency and postal system. Under this liberal régime it prospered greatly, its population increasing from less than a million to nearly three millions by the close of the century, and was, according to an historian of Russia, at least thirty years in advance of that country in all the appliances of material civilization. The sight of this country enjoying a constitution of its own and a separate organization was an offense to the men controlling Russia. They wished to sweep away all distinctions between the various parts of the Emperor's dominions, to unify, to Russify. The attack upon the liberties of the Finns began under Alexander III. It was carried much further by Nicholas II, who, on February 15, 1899, issued an imperial manifesto which really abrogated the constitution of that country. The Finns began a stubborn but apparently hopeless struggle for their historic rights with the autocrat of one hundred and forty million men.

Under such a system as that just described men could be terrorized into silence; they could not be made contented. Disaffection of all classes, driven into subterranean channels, only increased, awaiting

the time for explosion. That time came with the disastrous defeat of Russia in the war with Japan in 1904-5, a landmark in contemporary history.

To understand recent events in Russia it is necessary to trace the course of that war, whose consequences have been profound, and to show the significance of that conflict we must interrupt this narrative of Russian history in order to give an account of the recent evolution of Asia, the rise of the so-called Far Eastern Question, and the interaction of Occident and Orient upon each other.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FAR EAST

England, France, and Russia in Asia

Europe has not only taken possession of Africa, but she has taken possession of large parts of Asia, and presses with increasing force upon the remainder. England and France dominate southern Asia by their control, the former of India and Burma, the latter of a large part of Indo-China. Russia, on the other hand, dominates the north, from the Ural Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. As far as geographical extent is concerned, she is far more an Asiatic power than a European, which, indeed, is also true of England and of France, and she has been an Asiatic power much longer than they, for she began her expansion into Asia before the Pilgrims came to America. For nearly three centuries Russia has been a great Asiatic state, while England has been a power in India for only half that time.

It was not until the nineteenth century, however, that Russia began to devote serious attention to Asia as a field for colonial and commercial expansion. Siberia was regarded merely as a convenient prison to which to send her disaffected or criminal citizens. Events in Europe have caused her to concentrate her

attention more and more upon her Asiatic development. She has sought there what she had long been seeking in Europe, but without avail, because of the opposition she encountered, namely, contact with the ocean, free outlet to the world. Russia's coast line, either in Europe or Asia, had no harbors free from ice the year round. Blocked decisively and repeatedly from obtaining such in Europe at the expense of Turkey, she has sought them in Eastern Asia. This ambition explains her Asiatic policies. In 1858 she acquired from China the whole northern bank of the Amur and two years later more territory farther south, the Maritime Province, at the southern point of which she founded as a naval base Vladivostok, which means the Dominator of the East. But Vladivostok was not ice-free in winter. Russia still lacked her longed-for outlet.

China

Between Russian Asia on the north, and British and French Asia on the south, lies the oldest nation of the world, China, and one more extensive than Europe and probably more populous, with more than 400,000,000 inhabitants. It is a land of great navigable rivers, of vast agricultural areas, and of mines rich in coal and metals, as yet largely undeveloped. The Chinese were a highly civilized people long before the Europeans were. They preceded the latter by centuries in the use of the compass, powder, porcelain, paper. As early as the sixth century of our era they knew the art of printing from movable wooden blocks. They have long been famous for their work in bronze,

in wood, in lacquer, for the marvels of their silk manufacture. As a people laborious and intelligent, they have always been devoted to the peaceful pursuits of industry, and have scorned the arts of war.

China had always lived a life of isolation, despising the outside world. She had no diplomatic representatives in any foreign country, nor were any foreign ambassadors resident in Peking. Foreigners were permitted to trade in only one Chinese port, Canton, and even there only under vexatious and humiliating conditions.

It was not likely that a policy of such isolation could be permanently maintained in the modern age, and as the nineteenth century progressed it was gradually shattered. The Chinese desired nothing better than to be left alone. But this was not to be. By a long series of aggressions extending to our own day various European powers have forced China to enter into relations with them, to make concessions of territory, of trading privileges, of diplomatic intercourse. In this story of European aggression the Opium War waged by Great Britain against China from 1840 to 1842 was decisive, as showing how easy it was to conquer China. The Chinese had forbidden the importation of opium, as injurious to their people. But the British did not wish to give up a trade in which the profits were enormous. The war, the first between China and a European power, lasted two years and ended in the victory of Great Britain. The consequences, in forcing the doors of China open to European influence, were important. By the Treaty of Nanking, 1842, she was forced to pay a large indem-

nity, to open to British trade four ports in addition to Canton, and to cede the island of Hong Kong, near Canton, to England outright. Hong Kong has since become one of the most important naval and commercial stations of the British Empire.

Other powers now proceeded to take advantage of the British success. The United States sent Caleb Cushing to make a commercial treaty with China in 1844, and before long France, Belgium, Holland, Prussia, and Portugal established trade centers at the five treaty ports. The number of such ports has since been increased to over forty. China was obliged to abandon her policy of isolation and to send and receive ambassadors.

A period of critical importance in China's relations with Europe began in the last decade of the nineteenth century as a result of a war with Japan in 1894-5. To appreciate this war it is necessary to give some account of the previous evolution of Japan.

Japan

The rise of Japan as the most forceful state in the Orient is a chapter of very recent history, of absorbing interest, and of great significance to the present age. Accomplished in the last third of the nineteenth century it has already profoundly altered the conditions of international politics, and seems likely to be a factor of increasing moment in the future evolution of the world.

Japan is an archipelago, consisting of several large islands and about four thousand smaller ones. It

covered, in 1894, an area of 147,000 square miles, an area smaller than that of California. The main islands form a crescent, the northern point being opposite Siberia, the southern turning in toward Korea. Between it and Asia is the Sea of Japan. The country is very mountainous, its most famous peak, Fujiyama, rising to a height of 12,000 feet. Of volcanic origin, numerous craters are still active. Earthquakes are not uncommon, and have determined the character of domestic architecture. The coast line is much indented, and there are many good harbors. The Japanese call their country Nippon, or the Land of the Rising Sun. Only about one-sixth of the land is under cultivation, owing to its mountainous character, and owing to the prevalent mode of farming. Yet into this small area is crowded a population of fifty-six millions, which is larger than that of Great Britain or France. It is no occasion for surprise that the Japanese have desired territorial expansion.

The people of Japan derived the beginnings of their civilization from China, but in many respects they differed greatly from the Chinese. The virtues of the soldier were held in high esteem. Patriotism was a passion, and with it went the spirit of unquestioning self-sacrifice. "Thou shalt honor the gods and love thy country," was a command of the Shinto religion, and was universally obeyed. An art-loving and pleasure-loving people, the Japanese possessed active minds and a surprising power of assimilation which they were to show on a national and momentous scale.

The Japanese had followed the same policy of seclu-

sion as had the Chinese. Japan had for centuries been almost hermetically sealed against the outside world. On the peninsula of Deshima there was a single trading station which carried on a slight commerce with the Dutch. This was Japan's sole point of contact with the outside world for over two centuries.

This unnatural seclusion was rudely disturbed by the arrival in Japanese waters of an American fleet under Commodore Perry in 1853, sent out by the government of the United States. American sailors, engaged in the whale fisheries in the Pacific, were now and then wrecked on the coasts of Japan, where they generally received cruel treatment. Perry was instructed to demand of the ruler of Japan protection for American sailors and property thus wrecked, and permission for American ships to put into one or more Japanese ports, in order to obtain necessary supplies and to dispose of their cargoes. He presented these demands to the government. He announced further that if his requests were refused, he would open hostilities. The government granted certain immediate demands, but insisted that the general question of opening relations with a foreign state required careful consideration. Perry consented to allow this discussion and sailed away, stating that he would return the following year for the final answer. The discussion of the general question on the part of the governing classes was very earnest. Some believed in maintaining the old policy of complete exclusion of foreigners. Others, however, believed this impossible, owing to the manifest military superiority of the foreigners. They thought it well to enter into relations

with them in order to learn the secret of that superiority, and then to appropriate it for Japan. They believed this the only way to insure, in the long run, the independence and power of their country. This opinion finally prevailed, and when Perry reappeared a treaty was made with him (1854) by which two ports were opened to American ships. This was a mere beginning, but the important fact was that Japan had, after two centuries of seclusion, entered into relations with a foreign state. Later other and more liberal treaties were concluded with the United States and with other countries.

The reaction of these events upon the internal evolution of Japan was remarkable. They produced a very critical situation, and precipitated a civil war, the outcome of which discussion and conflict was the triumph of the party that believed in change. After 1868 Japan revolutionized her political and social institutions in a few years, adopted with ardor the material and scientific civilization of the West, made herself in these respects a European state, and entered as a result upon an international career, which has already profoundly modified the world, and is likely to be a constant and an increasing factor in the future development of the East. So complete, so rapid, so hearty an appropriation of an alien civilization, a civilization against which every precaution of exclusion had for centuries been taken, is a change unique in the history of the world, and notable for the audacity and the intelligence displayed. The entrance upon this course was a direct result of Perry's expedition. The Japanese revolution will always re-

main an astounding story. Once begun it proceeded with great rapidity. In place of the former military class arose an army based on European models. Military service was declared universal and obligatory in 1872. The German system, which has revolutionized Europe, began to revolutionize Asia.

The first railroad was begun in 1870 between Tokio and Yokohama. Thirty years later there were over 3,600 miles in operation. To-day there are 7,600. The educational methods of the West were also introduced. A university was established at Tokio, and later another at Kioto. Professors from abroad were induced to accept important positions in them. Students showed great enthusiasm in pursuing the new learning. Public schools were created rapidly, and by 1883 about 3,300,000 pupils were receiving education. In 1873 the European calendar was adopted. The codes of law were thoroughly remodeled after an exhaustive study of European systems. Finally a constitution was granted in 1889, after eight years of careful elaboration and study of foreign models. It established a parliament of two chambers, a House of Peers (the so-called "Elder Statesmen") and a House of Representatives. The vote was given to men of twenty-five years or older who paid a certain property tax. The constitution reserved very large powers for the monarch. Parliament met for the first time in 1890. The test of reformed Japan came in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth, and proved the solidity of this amazing achievement. During those years she fought and defeated two powers apparently much stronger than

herself, China and Russia, and took her place as an equal in the family of nations.

Chino-Japanese War and its Consequences

A war in which the efficiency of the transformed Japan was clearly established broke out with China in 1894. The immediate cause was the relations of the two powers to Korea. Korea was a kingdom, but both China and Japan claimed suzerainty over it. Japan had an interest in extending her claims, as she desired larger markets for her products. Friction was frequent between the two countries concerning their rights in Korea, as a consequence of which Japan began a war in which, with her modern army, she was easily victorious over her giant neighbor, whose armies fought in the old Asiatic style with a traditional Asiatic equipment. The Japanese drove the Chinese out of Korea, invaded Manchuria, where they seized the fortress of Port Arthur, the strongest position in eastern Asia, occupied the Liao-tung peninsula on which that fortress is located, and prepared to advance toward Peking. The Chinese, alarmed for their capital, agreed to make peace, and signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki (April 17, 1895), by which they ceded Port Arthur, the Liao-tung peninsula, the Island of Formosa, and the Pescadores Islands to Japan, also agreeing to pay a large war indemnity of two hundred million taels (about $175,000,000). China recognized the complete independence of Korea.

But in the hour of her triumph Japan was thwarted

by a European intervention, and deprived of the fruits of her victory. Russia now entered in decisive fashion upon a scene where she was to play a prominent part for the next ten years. She soon showed that she entertained plans directly opposed to those of the Japanese. She induced France and Germany to join her in forcing them to give up the most important rewards of their victory, in ordering them to surrender the Liao-tung peninsula on the ground that the possession of Port Arthur threatened the independence of Peking and would be a perpetual menace "to the peace of the Far East." This was a bitter blow to the Japanese. Recognizing, however, that it would be folly to oppose the three great military powers of Europe, they yielded, restored Port Arthur and the peninsula to China, and withdrew from the mainland, indignant at the action of the powers, and resolved to increase their army and navy and develop their resources, believing that their enemy in Asia was Russia, with whom a day of reckoning must come sooner or later, and confirmed in this belief by events that crowded thick and fast in the next few years.

The insincerity of the powers in talking about the integrity of China and the peace of the East was not long in manifesting itself.

In 1897 two German missionaries were murdered in the province of Shantung. The German Emperor immediately sent a fleet to demand redress. As a result Germany secured (March 5, 1898) from China a ninety-nine year lease of the fine harbor of Kiau-chau, with a considerable area round about, and extensive commercial and financial privileges in the

whole province of Shantung. Indeed, that province became a German "sphere of influence."

This action encouraged Russia to make further demands. She acquired from China (March 27, 1898) a lease for twenty-five years of Port Arthur, the strongest position in eastern Asia, which, as she had stated to Japan in 1895, enabled the possessor to threaten Peking and to disturb the peace of the Orient. France and England also each acquired a port on similar terms of lease. The powers also forced China to open a dozen new ports to the trade of the world, and to grant extensive rights to establish factories and build railways and develop mines.

It seemed, in the summer of 1898, that China was about to undergo the fate of Africa, that it was to be carved up among the various powers. This tendency was checked by the rise of a bitterly anti-foreign party, occasioned by these acts of aggression, and culminating in the Boxer insurrections of 1900. These grew rapidly, and spread over northern China. Their aim was to drive the "foreign devils into the sea." Scores of missionaries and their families were killed, and hundreds of Chinese converts murdered in cold blood. Finally, the Legations of the various powers in Peking were besieged, and for weeks Europe and America feared that all the foreigners there would be massacred. In the presence of this common danger the powers were obliged to drop their jealousies and rivalries, and send a relief expedition, consisting of troops from Japan, Russia, Germany, France, Great Britain, and the United States. The Legations were rescued, just as their resources were exhausted by

the siege of two months (June 13-August 14, 1900). The international army suppressed the Boxer movement after a short campaign, forced the Chinese to pay a large indemnity, and to punish the ringleaders. In forming this international army, the powers had agreed not to acquire territory, and at the close of the war they guaranteed the integrity of China. Whether this would mean anything remained to be seen.

The integrity of China had been invoked in 1895 and ignored in the years following. Russia, France, and Germany had appealed to it as a reason for demanding the evacuation of Port Arthur by the Japanese in 1895. Soon afterward Germany had virtually annexed a port and a province of China, and France had also acquired a port in the south. Then came the most decisive act, the securing of Port Arthur by Russia. This caused a wave of indignation to sweep over Japan, and the people of that country were with difficulty kept in check by the prudence of their statesmen. The acquisition of Port Arthur by Russia meant that now she had a harbor ice-free the year round. That Russia did not look upon her possession as merely a short lease, but as a permanent one, was unmistakably shown by her conduct. She constructed a railroad south from Harbin, connecting with the Trans-Siberian. She threw thousands of troops into Manchuria; she set about immensely strengthening Port Arthur as a fortress, and a considerable fleet was stationed there. To the Japanese all this seemed to prove that she purposed ultimately to annex the immense province of Manchuria, and

later probably Korea, which would give her a larger number of ice-free harbors and place her in a dominant position on the Pacific, menacing, the Japanese felt, the very existence of Japan. Moreover, this would absolutely cut off all chance of possible Japanese expansion in these directions, and of the acquisition of their markets for Japanese industries. The ambitions of the two powers to dominate the East clashed, and, in addition, to Japan the matter seemed to involve her permanent safety, even in her island empire.

Russo-Japanese War and its Consequences

Japan's prestige at this time was greatly increased by a treaty concluded with England in 1902 establishing a defensive alliance, each power promising the other aid in certain contingencies. In case either should become involved in war the other would remain neutral, but would abandon its neutrality and come to the assistance of its ally if another power should join the enemy. This meant that if France or Germany should aid Russia in a war with Japan, then England would aid Japan. In a war between Russia and Japan alone England would be neutral. The treaty was therefore of great practical importance to Japan, and it also increased her prestige. For the first time in history, an Asiatic power had entered into an alliance with a European power on a plane of entire equality. Japan had entered the family of nations, and it was remarkable evidence of her importance that Great Britain saw advantage in an alliance with her. Meanwhile Russia had a large army

in Manchuria and a leasehold of the strong fortress and naval base of Port Arthur. She had definitely promised to withdraw from Manchuria when order should be restored, but she declined to make the statement more explicit. Her military preparations increasing all the while, the Japanese demanded of her the date at which she intended to withdraw her troops from Manchuria, order having apparently been restored. Negotiations between the two powers dragged on from August, 1903, to February, 1904. Japan, believing that Russia was merely trying to gain time to tighten her grip on Manchuria by elaborate and intentional delay and evasion, and to prolong the discussion until she had sufficient troops in the province to be able to throw aside the mask, suddenly broke off diplomatic relations and commenced hostilities. On the night of the 8th-9th of February, 1904, the Japanese torpedoed a part of the Russian fleet before Port Arthur and threw their armies into Korea.

The Russo-Japanese War, thus begun, lasted from February, 1904, to September, 1905. It was fought on both land and sea. Russia had two fleets in Asiatic waters, one at Port Arthur and one at Vladivostok. Her land connection with eastern Asia was by the long single track of the Trans-Siberian railway. Japan succeeded in bottling the Port Arthur fleet at the very outset of the war. Controlling the Asiatic waters she was able to transport armies and munitions to the scene of the land warfare with only slight losses at the hands of the Vladivostok fleet. One army drove the Russians out of Korea, back from the

Yalu. Another under General Oku landed on the Liaotung peninsula and cut off the connections of Port Arthur with Russia. It attempted to take Port Arthur by assault, but was unable to carry it, and finally began a siege. This siege was conducted by General Nogi, General Oku being engaged in driving the Russians back upon Mukden. The Russian General Kuropatkin marched south from Mukden to relieve Port Arthur. South of Mukden great battles occurred, that of Liao-yang, engaging probably half a million men and lasting several days, resulting in a victory of the Japanese, who entered Liao-yang September 4, 1904. Their objective now was Mukden. Meanwhile, in August, the Japanese had defeated disastrously both the Port Arthur and Vladivostok fleets, eliminating them from the war. The terrific bombardment of Port Arthur continued until that fortress surrendered after a siege of ten months, costing the Japanese 60,000 in killed and wounded (January 1, 1905). The army which had conducted this siege was now able to march northward to coöperate with General Oku around Mukden. There several battles were fought, the greatest since the Franco-German war of 1870, lasting in each case several days. The last, at Mukden (March 6-10, 1905), cost both armies 120,000 men killed and wounded in four days' fighting. The Russians were defeated and evacuated Mukden, leaving 40,000 prisoners in the hands of the Japanese.

Another incident of the war was the sending out from Russia of a new fleet under Admiral Rodjestvensky, which, after a long voyage around the Cape

of Good Hope, was attacked by Admiral Togo as it entered the Sea of Japan and annihilated in the great naval battle of the Straits of Tsushima, May 27, 1905.

The two powers finally consented, at the suggestion of President Roosevelt, to send delegates to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to see if the war could be brought to a close. The result was the signing of the Treaty of Portsmouth, September 5, 1905. The war between Japan and Russia had been fought in lands belonging to neither power, in Korea, and principally in Manchuria, a province of China, yet Korea and China took no part in the war, were passive spectators, powerless to preserve the neutrality of their soil or their independent sovereignty. The war had cost each nation about a billion dollars and about 200,000 in killed and wounded.

By the Treaty of Portsmouth Russia recognized Japan's paramount interests in Korea, which country, however, was to remain independent. Both the Russians and the Japanese were to evacuate Manchuria. Russia transferred to Japan her lease of Port Arthur and the Liao-tung peninsula, and ceded the southern half of the island of Saghalin.

Japan thus stood forth the dominant power of the Orient. She had expanded in ten years by the annexation of Formosa and Saghalin. She has not regarded Korea as independent, but since the close of the war has annexed her (1910). She possesses Port Arthur, and her position in Manchuria is one which has given rise to much diplomatic discussion. She has an army of 600,000 men, equipped with all the most modern appliances of destruction, a navy about the size of

that of France, flourishing industries, and flourishing commerce. The drain upon her resources during the period just passed had been tremendous, and, appreciating the need of many years of quiet recuperation and upbuilding, she was willing to make the Peace of Portsmouth. Her financial difficulties were great, imposing an abnormally heavy taxation. No people had accomplished so vast a transformation in so short a time.

The lesson of these tremendous events was not lost upon the Chinese. The victories of Japan, an Oriental state, over a great Occidental power, as well as over China, convinced many influential Chinese of the advantage to be derived from an adoption of European methods, an appropriation of European knowledge. Moreover, they saw that the only way to repel the aggressions of outside powers was to be equipped with the weapons used by the aggressor.

The leaven of reform began to work fruitfully in the Middle Kingdom. A military spirit arose in this state, which formerly despised the martial virtues. Under the direction of Japanese instructors a beginning was made in the construction of a Chinese army after European models and equipped in European fashion. The acquisition of Western knowledge was encouraged. Students went in large numbers to the schools and universities of Europe and America. Twenty thousand of them went to Japan. The State encouraged the process by throwing open the civil service, that is, official careers, to those who obtained honors in examinations in Western subjects. Schools were opened throughout the country. Even public

ATLANT. OC.
BRITISH ISLES
North Sea
NORWAY
SWEDEN
RUSSIA
EUROPE
FRANCE
PORTUG.
SPAIN
GERMANY
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
Vienna
Berlin
Moscow
Petersburg
Warsaw
Archangel
Kiev
Odessa
Kharkov
Volga
Ekaterinburg
Perm
Kazan
Samara
Orenburg
Ufa
Tobolsk
Tiumen
Omsk
Irbit
Ural Mts.
Asia
Kirghiz Steppe
Aral Sea
Turkestan
Tashkent
Samarkand
Bokhara
Khiva
Merv
Meshed
Teheran
Persia
Afghanistan
Kabul
Kandahar
Baluchistan
Beloochistan
Arabian Sea
Hadramaut
Aden
Gulf of Aden
Bab el Mandeb Str.
Abyssinia
Somali
Galla
Harar
Berbera
Zanzibar
Mozambique
Madagascar
Nyassa L.
Victoria Nyanza
Albert Nyanza
Lado
Khartoum
Kordofan
Nubia
Egypt
Libya
Algeria
Tripoli
Mediterranean Sea
Black Sea
Constantinople
Asia Minor
Turkish Empire
Arabia
Red Sea
Suez Canal
Cairo
Alexandria
Jerusalem
Damascus
Aleppo
Baghdad
Bussorah
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Persian Gulf
Muscat
Ormuz Str.
Karachi
Bombay
Indian Ocean
Hindustan
British India
Delhi
Lahore
Peshawar
Kashmir
Yarkand
Kashgar
Karakoram Mts
Himalaya Mts
Hindu-Kush Mts
Pamir
Lucknow
Oude
Calcutta
Madras
Pondicherry
Trincomalee
Ceylon
Colombo
Pt de Galle
Laccadive Is
Maldive Is
C. Comorin
Coromandel
Deccan
Nerbudda R.
Godavery R.
Hyderabad
Goa
Diu
Socotra (Br.)
Perim
Mocha
Hodeida
Loanda

ASIA
IN 1914
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625
1250
Miles
Railroads
Russian
French
Dutch
German
English
Portuguese
Spanish
United States
Japan
Bering Str
I. St. Laurence
Pribylov I.
I. St. Matthew
Anadir Gulf
C. Navarin
BERING SEA
Aleutian Is.
Kamchatka
Petropavlovsk
Kurile Str
Okhotsk Sea
Stanovoi Mts.
Province of Primorskaya
Okhotsk
Yakutsk
Nikolaievsk
Blagovestchensk
I. Sachalin
Iturup
La Perouse Str.
Yesso
Hakodate
Tokio (Yeddo)
Tokohama
Japan Sea
Hondo
Kiushu
Shikoku
Kagoshima
Nagasaki
Yellow Sea
Pusan
Seoul
Chefu
Harbin
Kirin
Vladivostok
MANCHURIA
Nerchinsk
Chita
Kiakhta
Irkutsk
Urga
Uliassutai
MONGOLIA
Desert of Gobi
Peking
Tien-tsin
Mukden
Nanking
Shanghai
Hang-chou
Wenchou
Fuchou
Changchou
Canton
Hongkong (Br)
Macao (Port)
Kwangchau Bay
Kiung Chou
Hai-nan
Tonkin
Yunnan
Chungking
Ching-tu
Singan
Hankou
Batang
Burma
Mandalay
Pegu
Rangoon
Bangkok
Cambodia
Cochin China
Gulf of Siam
Malay Peninsula
Malacca
Singapore
Sumatra
Nias I.
Siberut I.
Pagen I.
Banca
Billiton
Batavia
Java
Bandermasin
Sunda S.
Madura I.
Flores
Timur
Kupang
Cambridge G.
Palmerston
Carpentaria Gulf
York Penins.
Torres Str.
C. York
Somerset
Arafura S.
Timorlaut
Frederick H. I.
Aru I.
Papua Gulf
Kaiser Wilh. Ld.
NEW GUINEA
Admiralty Is.
Wolea Lamotrek
Caroline Is. (Ger.)
Yap
Palau Is.
Ladrone or Marianna Is. (G)
Guam (U.S.)
Volcano Is. (Jap)
Bonin Is. (Jap)
Tropic of Cancer
PACIFIC OCEAN
Liu-Kiu Is.
East China Sea
Formosa (Jap)
Tai-nan
Pescadores
Philippine Is.
I. Luzon
I. Mindoro
I. Samar
I. Mindanao
Manila
Iloilo
Palawan
Sulu Is.
Celebes S.
Celebes
Borneo
Sarawak
Kuching
Natuna I.
Bruneh
I. Labuan
Norte
Borneo
Sulu Is.
Mindanao
Molucca Passage
Molucca
Ceram
Amboina
Banda S.
Buru
Macassar
Dehli (Port)
Timor
Kupang
Cambridge G.
Palmerston
Carpentaria Gulf
Greenwich
100°
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70°
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150°
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20°

schools for girls were established in some places, a remarkable fact for any Oriental country. In 1906 an edict was issued aiming at the prohibition of the use of opium within ten years. This edict has since been put into execution and the opium trade has finally been suppressed.

Political reorganization was also undertaken. An imperial commission was sent to Europe in 1905 to study the representative systems of various countries, and on its return a committee, consisting of many high dignitaries, was appointed to study its report. In August, 1908, an official edict was issued promising, in the name of the Emperor, a constitution in 1917.

But the process of transformation was destined to proceed more rapidly than was contemplated. Radical and revolutionary parties appeared upon the scene, demanding a constitution immediately. As the Imperial Government could not resist, it granted one in 1911, establishing a parliament with extensive powers. To cap all, in central and southern China, a republican movement arose and spread rapidly. Finally a republic was proclaimed at Nanking and Dr. Sun Yat Sen, who had been educated in part in the United States, was elected president. A clash between this republican movement and the imperial party in the north resulted in the forced abdication of the boy Emperor (February, 1912). This was the end of the Manchu dynasty. Thereupon Yuan Shih K'ai was chosen President of the Republic of China. The situation confronting the new Republic was extremely grave. Would it prove possible to establish the new

régime upon solid and enduring bases, or would the Republic fall a prey to the internal dissensions of the Chinese, or to foreign aggression at the hands of European powers, or, more likely, at the hands of an ambitious and militaristic neighbor, Japan? These were the secrets of the future.

Yuan Shih K'ai was elected President for a term of five years. His administration was marked by a growing tension between his increasingly autocratic tendencies and the liberal and radical tendencies of Parliament. In the midst of his term, the President died, June 6, 1916. He was succeeded by Li Yuan-hung, the Vice-President, generally considered more loyal to republican principles.

CHAPTER XIV

RUSSIA SINCE THE WAR WITH JAPAN

We are now in a position to follow with some understanding the very recent history of Russia, a history at once crowded, intricate, and turbulent. That history is the record of the reaction of the Japanese war upon Russia herself.

That war was from the beginning unpopular with the Russians. Consisting of a series of defeats, its unpopularity only increased, and the indignation and wrath of the people were shown during its course in many ways. The Government was justly held responsible, and was discredited by its failure. As the war added greatly to the already existing discontent, the plight in which the Government found itself rendered it powerless to repress the popular expression of that discontent in the usual summary fashion. There was for many months extraordinary freedom of discussion, of the press, of speech, cut short now and then by the officials, only to break out later. The war with Japan had for the Government most unexpected and unwelcome consequences. The very winds were let loose.

The minister of the interior, in whose hands lay the maintenance of public order, was at this time Plehve, one of the most bitterly hated men in recent

Russian history. Plehve had been in power since 1902, and had revealed a character of unusual harshness. He had incessantly and pitilessly prosecuted liberals everywhere, had filled the prisons with his victims, had been the center of the movement against the Finns, previously described, and seems to have secretly favored the horrible massacres of Jews which occurred at this time. He was detested as few men have been. He attempted to suppress in the usual manner the rising volume of criticism occasioned by the war by applying the same ruthless methods of breaking up meetings, and exiling to Siberia students, professional men, laborers. He was killed July, 1904, by a bomb thrown under his carriage by a former student. Russia breathed more easily.

The various liberal and advanced elements of the population uttered their desires with a freedom such as they had never known before. They demanded that the reign of law be established in Russia, that the era of bureaucratic and police control, recognizing no limits of inquisition and of cruelty, should cease. They demanded the individual rights usual in western Europe, freedom of conscience, of speech, of publication, of public meetings and associations, of justice administered by independent judges. They also demanded a constitution, to be framed by the people, and a national parliament.

The Czar showing no inclination to accede to these demands, disorder continued and became more widespread, particularly when the shameful facts became known that officials were enriching themselves at the expense of the national honor, selling for private gain

supplies intended for the army, even seizing the funds of the Red Cross Society. The war continued to be a series of humiliating and sanguinary defeats, and on January 1, 1905, came the surrender of Port Arthur after a fearful siege. The horror of the civilized world was aroused by an event which occurred a few weeks later, the slaughter of "Bloody Sunday" (January 22, 1905). Workmen in immense numbers, under the leadership of a radical priest, Father Gapon, tried to approach the Imperial Palace in St. Petersburg, hoping to be able to lay their grievances directly before the Emperor, as they had no faith in any of the officials. Instead of that they were attacked by the Cossacks and the regular troops and the result was a fearful loss of life, how large cannot be accurately stated.

All through the year 1905 tumults and disturbances occurred. Peasants burned the houses of the nobles. Mutinies in the army and navy were frequent. The uncle of the Czar, the Grand Duke Sergius, one of the most pronounced reactionaries in the Empire, who had said "the people want the stick," was assassinated. Russia was in a state bordering on anarchy. Finally the Czar sought to reduce the ever-mounting spirit of opposition by issuing a manifesto concerning the representative assembly which was so vehemently demanded (August 19, 1905). The manifesto proved a bitter disappointment, as it spoke of the necessity of preserving autocratic government and promised a representative assembly which should only have the power to give advice, not to see that its advice was followed. The agitation, therefore, continued unabated,

or rather increased, assuming new and alarming aspects which exerted in the end a terrific pressure upon the Government. Finally the Czar on October 30, 1905, issued a new manifesto which promised freedom of conscience, speech, meeting, and association, also a representative assembly or Duma, to be elected on a wide franchise, establishing "as an immutable rule that no law can come into force without the approval of the Duma," and giving to the Duma also effective control over the acts of public officials.

The Czar thus promised the Duma, which was to be a law-making body and was to have a supervision over state officials. But before it met he proceeded to clip its wings. He issued a decree constituting the Council of the Empire, that is, a body consisting largely of official appointees from the bureaucracy, or of persons associated with the old order of things, as a kind of Upper Chamber of the legislature, of which the Duma should be the Lower. Laws must have the consent of both Council and Duma before being submitted to the Czar for approval.

The elections to the Duma were held in March and April, 1906, and resulted in a large majority for the Constitutional Democrats, popularly called the "Cadets." In the name of the Czar certain "organic laws" were now issued, laws that could not be touched by the Duma. Thus the powers of that body were again restricted, before it had even met.

The Duma was opened by Nicholas II in person with elaborate ceremony, May 10, 1906. It was destined to have a short and stormy life. It showed

from the beginning that it desired a comprehensive reform of Russia along the well-known lines of western liberalism. It was combated by the court and bureaucratic parties, which had not been able to prevent its meeting, but which were bent upon rendering it powerless, and were only waiting for a favorable time to secure its abolition. It demanded that the Council of the Empire, the second chamber, should be reformed, as it was under the complete control of the Emperor, and was thus able to nullify the work of the people's chamber. It demanded that the ministers be made responsible to the Duma as the only way of giving the people control over the officials. It demanded the abolition of martial law throughout the Empire, under cover of which all kinds of crimes were being perpetrated by the governing classes. It passed a bill abolishing capital punishment. As the needs of the peasants were most pressing, it demanded that the lands belonging to the state, the crown, and the monasteries be given to them on long lease.

The Duma lasted a little over two months. Its debates were marked by a high degree of intelligence and by frequent displays of eloquence, in which several peasants distinguished themselves. It criticised the abuses of the Government freely and scathingly. Its sessions were often stormy, the attitude of the ministers frequently contemptuous. It was foiled in all its attempts at reform by the Council of the Empire, and by the Czar.

The crucial contest was over the responsibility of ministers. The Duma demanded this as the only way of giving the people an effective participation

in the government. The Czar steadily refused. A deadlock ensued. The Czar cut the whole matter short by dissolving the Duma, on July 22, 1906, expressing himself as "cruelly disappointed" by its actions, and ordering elections for a new Duma.

The second Duma was opened by the Czar March 5, 1907. It did not work to the satisfaction of the Government. Friction between it and the ministry developed early and steadily increased. Finally the Government arrested sixteen of the members and indicted many others for carrying on an alleged revolutionary propaganda. This was, of course, a vital assault upon the integrity of the assembly, a gross infringement upon even the most moderate constitutional liberties. Preparing to contest this high-handed action, the Duma was dissolved on June 16, 1907, and a new one ordered to be elected in September, and to meet in November. An imperial manifesto was issued at the same time altering the electoral law in most sweeping fashion, and practically bestowing the right of choosing the large majority of the members upon about 130,000 landowners. This also was a grave infringement upon the constitutional liberties hitherto granted, which had, among other things, promised that the electoral law should not be changed without the consent of the Duma.

The Government declared by word and by act that the autocracy of the ruler was undiminished. Illegalities of the old, familiar kind were committed freely by officials. Reaction ruled unchecked. The third Duma, elected on a very limited and plutocratic suffrage, was opened on November 14, 1907. It was

composed in large measure of reactionaries, of large landowners. It proved a docile assembly.

The Government did not dare to abolish the Duma outright, as urged by the reactionaries. The Duma continued to exist, but was rather a consultative than a legislative body. With the mere passage of time it took on more and more the character of a permanent institution, exerting a feeble influence on the national life. However, the government of Russia became again in practice what it had been before the war with Japan, what it had been all through the nineteenth century. The tremendous struggle for liberty had failed. The former governing classes recovered control of the state, after the stormy years from 1904 to 1907, and applied once more their former principles. Among these were renewed attacks upon the Finns, increasingly severe measures against the Poles, and savage treatment of the Jews. Russia was still wedded to her idols, or at least her idols had not been overthrown. Her mediaeval past was still the strongest force in the state to which it still gave a thoroughly mediaeval tone. Whether the war of 1914 would result in accomplishing what the war with Japan began but did not achieve, a sweeping reformation of the institutions and policies, ambitions and mental outlook of the nation, was, of course, the secret of the future.

CHAPTER XV

THE BALKAN WARS OF 1912 AND 1913

The Peace Movement

The contemporary world, to a degree altogether unprecedented in history, has been dominated by the thought of war, by extraordinary preparations for war, and by zealous and concerted efforts to prevent war. Finally a conflict came which staggered the imagination and beggared description and whose issues were incalculable, a conflict which soon clamped the entire world in its iron grip. This was a ghastly outcome of a century of development, rich beyond compare in many lines. It is, however, not inexplicable and it is important for us to see how so melancholy, so sinister a turn has been given to the destinies of the race.

The rise and development of the militaristic spirit have been shown in the preceding pages. The Prussian military system, marked by scientific thoroughness and efficiency, has been adopted by most of the countries of the Continent. Europe became in the last quarter of the nineteenth century what she had never been before, literally an armed continent. The rivalry of the nations to have the most perfect instruments of destruction, the strongest army, and the

strongest navy, became one of the most conspicuous features of the modern world. Ships of war were made so strong that they could resist attack. New projectiles of terrific force were consequently required and the torpedo was invented. A new agency would be useful to discharge this missile and thus the torpedo boat was developed. To neutralize it was therefore the immediate necessity and the torpedo-boat destroyer was the result. Boats that could navigate beneath the waters would have an obvious advantage over those that could be seen, and the submarine was provided for this need. And finally men took possession of the air with dirigible balloons and aeroplanes, as aerial auxiliaries of war. Thus man's immemorial occupation, war, gained from the advance of science and contributed to that advance. The wars of the past were fought on the surface of the globe. Those of the present are fought in the heavens above, and in the earth beneath, and in the waters under the earth.

But all this is tremendously expensive. It costs more than a hundred thousand dollars to construct the largest coast defense gun, which carries over twenty miles, and its single discharge costs a thousand dollars. Fifteen millions are necessary to build a dreadnought, and now we have super-dreadnoughts, more costly still and more destructive. The debts of European countries were nearly doubled during the last thirty years, largely because of military expenditures. The military budgets of European states in a time of "armed peace" amounted to not far from a billion and a half dollars a year, half as much again

as the indemnity exacted by Germany from France in 1871. The burden became so heavy, the rivalry so keen that it gave rise to a movement which aimed to end it. The very aggravation of the evil prompted a desire for its cure.

In the summer of 1898 the civil and military authorities of Russia were considering how they might escape the necessity of replacing an antiquated kind of artillery with a more modern but very expensive kind. Out of this discussion emerged the idea that it would be desirable, if possible, to check the increase of armaments. This could not be achieved by one nation alone, but must be done by all, if done at all. The outcome of these discussions was the issuance by the Czar, Nicholas II, on August 24, 1898, of a communication to the powers, suggesting that an international conference be held to consider the general problem.

The conference, thus suggested by the Czar, was held at The Hague in 1899. Twenty-six of the fifty-nine sovereign governments of the world were represented by one hundred members. Twenty of these states were European, four were Asiatic—China, Japan, Persia, and Siam—and two were American—the United States and Mexico. The Conference was opened on May 18 and closed on July 29.

The official utterances of most of the delegates emphasized the frightful burden and waste of this vast expenditure upon the equipment for war, when all nations, big and little, needed all their resources for the works of peace, for education, for social improvement in many directions. Most of the delegates emphasized also the loss entailed by compulsory military

service, removing millions and millions of young men from their careers, from productive activity for several precious years. A German delegate, on the other hand, denied all this, denied that the necessary weight of charges and taxes portended approaching ruin and exhaustion, declared that the general welfare was increasing all the while, and that compulsory military service was not regarded in his country as a heavy burden, but as a sacred and patriotic duty to which his country owed its existence, its prosperity, and its future.

With such differences of opinion the Conference was unable to reach any agreement upon the fundamental question which had given rise to its convocation. It could only adopt a resolution expressing the belief that "a limitation of the military expenses which now burden the world is greatly to be desired in the interests of the material and moral well-being of mankind" and the desire that the governments "shall take up the study of the possibility of an agreement concerning the limitation of armed forces on land and sea, and of military budgets."

With regard to arbitration the Conference was more successful. It established a Permanent Court of Arbitration for the purpose of facilitating arbitration in the case of international disputes which it is found impossible to settle by the ordinary means of diplomacy. The Court does not consist of a group of judges holding sessions at stated times to try such cases as may be brought before it. But it is provided that each power "shall select not more than four persons of recognized competence in questions of

international law, enjoying the highest moral reputation and disposed to accept the duties of arbitrators," and that their appointment shall run for six years and may be renewed. Out of this long list the powers at variance may choose, in a manner indicated, the judges who shall decide any given case.

Recourse to this Court is optional, but the Court is always ready to be invoked. Arbitration is entirely voluntary with the parties to a quarrel, but if they wish to arbitrate the machinery is at hand, a fact which is, perhaps, an encouragement to its use.

The work of the First Peace Conference was very limited and modest, yet encouraging. But that the new century was to bring not peace but a sword, that force still ruled the world, was shortly apparent. Those who were optimistic about the rapid spread of arbitration as a principle destined to regulate the international relations of the future were sadly disappointed by the meager results of the Conference, and were still more depressed by subsequent events. For almost on the very heels of this Conference, which it was hoped would further the interests of peace, came the devastating war in South Africa, followed quickly by the war between Russia and Japan. Also the expenditures of European states upon armies and navies continued to increase, and at an even faster rate than ever. During the eight years, from 1898 to 1906, they augmented nearly £70,000,000, the sum total mounting from £250,000,000 to £320,000,000.

Such was the disappointing sequel of the Hague Conference. But despite discouragements the friends

of peace were active, and finally brought about the Second Conference at The Hague in 1907. This also was called by Nicholas II, though President Roosevelt had first taken the initiative. The Second Conference was in session from June 15 to October 18. It was attended by representatives from forty-four of the world's fifty-seven states claiming sovereignty in 1907. The number of countries represented in this Conference, therefore, was nearly double that represented in the first, and the number of members was more than double, mounting from one hundred to two hundred and fifty-six. The chief additions came from the republics of Central and South America. The number of American governments represented rose, indeed, from two to nineteen. Twenty-one European, nineteen American, and four Asiatic states sent delegates to this Second Conference. Its membership illustrated excellently certain features of our day, among others the indubitable fact that we live in an age of world politics, that isolation no longer exists, either of nation or of hemispheres. The Conference was not European but international—the majority of the states were non-European.

The Second Conference accomplished much promising work in the adoption of conventions regulating the actual conduct of war in more humane fashion, and in defining certain aspects of international law with greater precision than heretofore. But, concerning compulsory arbitration, and concerning disarmament or the limitation of armaments, nothing was achieved. It passed this resolution: "The Conference confirms the resolution adopted by the Con-

ference of 1899 in regard to the restriction of military expenditures; and, since military expenditures have increased considerably in nearly every country since the said year, the Conference declares that it is highly desirable to see the governments take up the serious study of the question."

This Platonic resolution was adopted unanimously. A grim commentary on its importance in the eyes of the governments was contained in the history of the succeeding years with their ever-increasing military and naval appropriations, their tenser rivalry, their deepening determination to be ready for whatever the future might have in store.

That future had in store for 1912 and 1913 two desperate wars in the Balkan peninsula and for 1914 an appalling cataclysm.

The Collapse of the Ottoman Empire

We have seen with what enthusiasm the bloodless revolution of July 24, 1908, was hailed by all the races of Turkey. It seemed the brilliant dawn of a new era. It has, however, proved to be the beginning of the end of the Turkish Empire in Europe, if not in Asia as well. From that day to the outbreak of the European War six years later the Balkan peninsula was the storm center of the world. Event succeeded event, swift, startling, and sensational, throwing a lengthening and deepening shadow before. No adequate description of these crowded years can be attempted here. Only an outline can be given indicating the successive stages of a portentous and absorbing drama.

The ease with which the Young Turks overthrew in those July days of 1908 the loathsome régime of Abdul Hamid, and the principles of freedom and fair play which they proclaimed, aroused the happiest anticipations, and enlisted the liveliest sympathy among multitudes within and without the Empire. The very atmosphere was charged with the hope and the expectation that the reign of liberty, equality, and fraternity was about to begin for this sorely visited land, where unreason in all its varied forms had hitherto held sway. Would not Turkey, rejuvenated, modernized, and liberalized, strong in the loyalty and well-being of its citizens, freed from the blighting inheritance of its gloomy past, take an honorable place at last in the family of humane and progressive nations? Might not the old racial and religious feuds disappear under a new régime, where each locality would have a certain autonomy, large enough to ensure essential freedom in religion and in language? Might not a strong national patriotism be developed out of the polyglot conditions by freedom, a thing which despotism had never been able to evoke? Might not Turkey become a stronger nation by adopting the principles of true toleration toward all her various races and religions? Had not the time come for the elimination of these primitive but hardy prejudices and animosities? Might not races and creeds be subordinated to a large and essential unity? Might not this be the final, though unexpected, solution of the famous Eastern Question?

Even in those golden days some doubted, not seeing any authentic signs of an impending millennium for

that distracted corner of the world. At least the problem of so vast a transformation would be very difficult. The unanimity shown in the joyous destruction of the old system might not be shown in the construction of the new, as many precedents in European history suggested. If Turkey were left alone to concentrate her entire energy upon the impending work of reform, she might perhaps succeed. But she was not to be left alone now any more than she had been for centuries. The Eastern Question had long perplexed the powers of Europe, and had at the same time lured them on to seek their own advantage in its labyrinthine mazes. It was conspicuously an international problem. But the internal reform of Turkey might profoundly alter her international position by increasing the power of the Empire.

Thus it came about that the July Revolution of 1908 instantly riveted the attention of European powers and precipitated a series of startling events. Might not a reformed Turkey, animated with a new national spirit, with her army and finances reorganized and placed upon a solid basis, attempt to recover complete control of some of the possessions which, as we have seen, had been really, though not nominally and technically, torn from her—Bosnia, Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Crete, possibly Cyprus, possibly Egypt? There was very little evidence to show that the Young Turks had any such intention or dreamed of entering upon so hazardous an adventure. Indeed, it was quite apparent that they asked nothing better than to be left alone, fully recognizing the intricacy of their immediate problem, the need of quiet for its

solution. But the extremity of one is the opportunity of another.

On October 3, 1908, Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria-Hungary announced, through autograph letters to various rulers, his decision to incorporate Bosnia and Herzegovina definitely within his empire. These were Turkish provinces, handed over by the Congress of Berlin in 1878 to Austria-Hungary for "occupation" and administration, though they still remained officially under the suzerainty of the Porte. On October 5 Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria proclaimed, amid great ceremony, the complete independence of Bulgaria from Turkish suzerainty, and assumed the title of Czar. Two days later the Greek population of the island of Crete repudiated all connection with Turkey and declared for union with Greece. On the same day, October 7, Francis Joseph issued a proclamation to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina announcing the annexation of those provinces. Against this action Serbia protested vigorously to the powers, her parliament was immediately convoked, and the war spirit flamed up and threatened to get beyond control. Ferdinand was prepared to defend the independence of Bulgaria by going to war with Turkey, if necessary.

These startling events immediately aroused intense excitement throughout Europe. They constituted violent breaches of the Treaty of Berlin. The crisis precipitated by the actions of Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria brought all the great powers, signatories of that treaty, upon the scene. It became quickly apparent that they did not agree. Germany made

it clear that she would support Austria, and Italy seemed likely to do the same. The Triple Alliance, therefore, remained firm. In another group were Great Britain, France, and Russia, their precise position not clear, but plainly irritated at the defiance of the Treaty of Berlin. A tremendous interchange of diplomatic notes ensued. The British Foreign Minister, Sir Edward Grey, announced that Great Britain could not admit "the right of any power to alter an international treaty without the consent of the other parties to it," and demanded that, as the public law of the Balkans rested upon the Treaty of Berlin of 1878, and that as that treaty was made by all the great powers, it could only be revised by the great powers, meeting again in Congress. But neither Austria nor Germany would listen to this suggestion. They knew that Russia could not intervene, lamed, as she was, by the disastrous war with Japan, with her army disorganized and her finances in bad condition. And they had no fear of Great Britain and France. Thus the Treaty of Berlin was flouted, although later the signatories of that treaty formally recognized the accomplished fact.

Of all the states the most aggrieved by these occurrences was Serbia, and the most helpless. For years the Serbians had entertained the ambition of uniting Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro, peopled by members of the same Serbian race, thus restoring the Serbian empire of the Middle Ages, and gaining access to the sea. This plan was blocked, apparently forever. Serbia could not expand to the west, as Austria barred the way with Bosnia and

Herzegovina. She could not reach the sea. Thus she could get her products to market only with the consent of other nations. She alone of all the states in Europe, with the exception of Switzerland, was in this predicament. Feeling that she must thus become a vassal state, probably to her enemy, Austria-Hungary, seeing all possibility of expansion ended, all hopes of combining the Serbs of the Balkans under her banner frustrated, the feeling was strong that war, even against desperate odds, was preferable to strangulation. However, she did not fly to arms. But the feeling of anger and alarm remained, an element in the general situation that could not be ignored, auguring ill for the future.

But trouble for the Young Turks came not only from the outside. It also came from inside and, as was shortly seen, it lay in large measure in their own unwisdom. Difficulties manifold encompassed them about.

The new Turkish Parliament met in December, 1908, amid general enthusiasm. It consisted of two chambers, a Senate, appointed by the Sultan, and a Chamber of Deputies, elected by the people. Four months later events occurred which threatened the abrupt termination of this experiment in constitutional and parliamentary government. On April 13, 1909, without warning, thousands of troops in Constantinople broke into mutiny, killed some of their officers, denounced the Young Turks, and demanded the abolition of the constitution. The city was terrorized. At the same time sickening massacres occurred in Asia Minor, particularly at Adana, showing

that the religious and racial animosities of former times had lost none of their force. It seemed that the new régime was about to founder utterly. A counter-revolution was to undo the work of July. But this counter-revolution was energetically suppressed by troops sent up from Salonica and Adrianople and the Young Turks were soon in power again. Holding that the mutiny had been inspired and organized by the Sultan, who had corrupted the troops so that he might restore the old régime, they resolved to terminate his rule. On April 27, 1909, Abdul Hamid II was deposed, and was immediately taken as a prisoner of state to Salonica. He was succeeded by his brother, whom he had kept imprisoned many years. The new Sultan, Mohammed V, was in his sixty-fourth year. He at once expressed his entire sympathy with the armies of the Young Turks, his intention to be a constitutional monarch. The Young Turks were in power once more.

From the very beginning they failed. They did not rise to the height of their opportunity, they did not meet the expectations that had been aroused, they did not loyally live up to the principles they professed. They made no attempt to introduce the spirit of justice, of fair play toward the various elements of their highly composite empire. Instead of seeking to apply the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, they resorted to autocratic government, to domination by a single race, to the ruthless suppression of the rights of the people. They did just what the Germans have done in Alsace-Lorraine and Posen, what the Russians have done in Finland and

in Poland, and what the Austrians and Hungarians have done with the Slavic peoples within their borders. The policy of oppression of subject races, the attempt at amalgamation by force and craft, have strewn Europe with combustible material and the combustion has finally come. The government of the Young Turks was just as despotic as that of Abdul Hamid and its outcome was the same, a further and decisive disruption of the Empire.

From the very first they showed their purpose. They, the Turks, that is the Mohammedan ruling race, determined to keep power absolutely in their own hands by hook or crook. In the very first elections to Parliament they arranged affairs so that they would have a majority over all other races combined. They did not intend to divide power with the Christian Greeks and Armenians or the Mohammedan Arabs. Their policy was one of Turkification, just as the Russian policy was one of Russification, the German of Germanization. They made no attempt to punish the perpetrators of the Adana massacres in which over thirty thousand Armenian Christians were slaughtered. The Armenian population was thus alienated from them. They tried to suppress the liberties which under all previous régimes the Orthodox Greek Church had enjoyed. As they intended to subject all the races of the Empire to their own race, so they intended to suppress by force all religious privileges. They thus offended and infuriated the Greeks, whom they also alarmed and embittered by a commercial boycott because the Greeks would not agree to their repressive policy in regard to the

Cretans. Their treatment of Macedonia was the acme of folly. They sought to reinforce the Moslem elements of the population by bringing in Moslems from other regions. This aroused the Christian elements, Greek, Bulgarian, and Serbian. Large numbers of these Christians fled from Macedonia to Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia, carrying with them their grievances, urging the governments of those countries to hostility against the Turks.

The Turks went a step farther. In the west were the Albanians, a Moslem people who had hitherto combined local independence with loyal and appreciated services to the Turkish authorities, in both the army and the government. The Turks decided to suppress this independence and to make the Albanians submit in all matters to the authorities at Constantinople. But the Albanians had been for centuries remarkable fighters. They now flew to arms. Year after year the Albanian rebellion broke out, only temporarily subdued or smothered by the Turks, who thus exhausted their strength and squandered their resources in fruitless but costly efforts to "pacify" these hardy war-loving mountaineers.

Thus only a few years of Young Turk rule were necessary to create a highly critical situation, so numerous were the disaffected elements. There had been no serious attempt to regenerate Turkey, to bring together the various races on the basis of liberty for all. Turkey lost hundreds of thousands of its Christian subjects who fled to surrounding countries rather than endure the odious oppression. These

exiles did what they could to hit back at their oppressors.

The Young Turks from the very beginning failed as reformers because they were untrue to their promises. Their failure led to war in the Balkans and the war in the Balkans led to the European War. They spent their time in endeavoring to assert themselves as a race of masters. They sowed the wind and they quickly reaped the whirlwind.

The Turko-Italian War of 1911

While the Turkish Empire was in this highly perturbed condition and while the Balkan states were aglow with indignation at the treatment being meted out to the members of their races resident in Macedonia and were trembling with the desire to act, trouble flared up for the Young Turks in another quarter. Italy had for years been casting longing eyes on the territories which fringe the southern shores of the Mediterranean. She had once hoped to acquire Tunis, but had unexpectedly found herself forestalled by France, which seized that country in 1881. At the same time England began her occupation of Egypt. All that remained therefore was Tripoli, like Egypt, a part of the Turkish Empire. For many years the thought that this territory ought to belong to Italy had been accepted as axiomatic in influential quarters in the Italian government and diplomatic circles. Schemes had been worked out and partly put into force for a "pacific penetration" of an economic character of this land. Now, how-

ever, the time to seize it outright seemed to have arrived. Austria-Hungary had annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Bulgaria had declared her independence in 1908, and there had been no successful opposition on the part of Turkey or of any of the Great Powers. Was not this the ripe moment for Italy's project?

She evidently thought so, for, in September, 1911, she sent her warships to Tripoli and began the conquest of that country. It proved a more difficult undertaking than had been imagined. While she seized the coast towns, her hold on them was precarious and her progress into the interior was slow and costly, owing to the fact that the Turks aroused and directed the natives against the invaders. Italy had given her ally Austria-Hungary to understand that she would not attack Turkey directly in Europe, as European Turkey was a veritable tinder-box which, if it once caught fire, might blaze up into a devastating and incalculable conflagration. But as month after month went by and Italy was producing only an uncertain effect in Tripoli, she resolved on more decisive action nearer Constantinople, hoping to bring the Turks to terms. She attacked and seized Rhodes and eleven other Turkish islands in the Ægean, the Dodecanese. This, and the fact that an Albanian revolution against the Turks was at the same time attaining alarming proportions, made the latter ready to conclude peace with Italy so that they might be free to put down the Albanians. On October 15, 1912, was signed at Ouchy, or Lausanne, a treaty whereby Turkey relinquished Tripoli. It was also

provided that Italy should withdraw her troops from the Dodecanese as soon as the Turkish troops were withdrawn from Tripoli, a phrase about which it was easy to quibble later.

The great significance of this war did not lie in the fact that Italy acquired a new colony. It lay in the fact that it began again the process, arrested since 1878, of the violent dismemberment of the Turkish Empire; that it revealed the military weakness of that Empire, powerless to preserve its integrity; and, what is most important, that it contributed directly and greatly to a far more serious attack upon Turkey by the Balkan states, which, in turn, led to the European War. The tinder-box was lighted and a general European conflagration resulted. The Italian attack upon Tripoli was momentous in its consequences.

The Balkan Wars

During the war the Balkan states were negotiating with each other with a view to united action against Turkey. This union was not easy to bring about, as Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece disliked each other intensely, for historical, racial, sentimental reasons, too numerous and too complex to be described here. However, they disliked the Turks more and they were suffering constantly from the Turks. Terrible persecutions, even massacres, of the Christians in Macedonia in which large numbers of Greeks, Bulgarians, and Serbians lost their lives, inflamed the people of those states with the desire to liberate their brothers in Macedonia. By doing this they would

also increase their own territories and diminish or end an odious tyranny. These nations found it possible to unite for the purpose of overwhelming the Turks; they might not find it possible to agree as to the partition among themselves of any territories they might acquire, since here their old, established ambitions and antipathies might conflict. It was because of the strength of these rivalries and hatreds that neither the Turks nor the outside powers considered an alliance of the Balkan states as at all among the possibilities. But the statesmen of the Balkans had learned something from the troubled history of the peninsula, and saw the folly of continuing their dissensions. They also realized that now was their chance, that they might never again find their common enemy so weak and demoralized, the general European situation so favorable.

Thus it came about that in October, 1912, the four Balkan states, Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece made war on Turkey. The war was brief and an overwhelming success for the allies. Fighting began on October 15, the very day of the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne between Italy and Turkey, although technically the declarations of war were not issued until October 18. The Greeks pushed northward into Macedonia, gained several victories over the enemy, and on November 8, only three weeks after the beginning of the campaign, they entered the important city and port of Salonica, with Crown Prince Constantine at their head. Farther west the Serbians and Montenegrins were also successful. The Serbians won a great victory at Kumanovo, where

they avenged the defeat of their ancestors of Kosovo, which they had not forgotten for five hundred years. They then captured Monastir.

Meanwhile the Bulgarians, who had the larger armies, had gone from victory to victory, defeating the Turks brilliantly in the battles of Kirk Kilissé and Lulé Burgas. The latter was one of the great battles of modern times, three hundred and fifty thousand troops being involved in fierce, tenacious struggle for three days. The result was the destruction of the military power of the Turks. By the middle of November the Bulgarians had reached the Chataldja line of fortifications which extend from the Sea of Marmora to the Black Sea. Only twenty-five miles beyond them lay Constantinople.

The collapse of the Turkish power in Europe was nearly complete. Only the very important fortresses of Adrianople in the east, and Janina and Scutari in the west, had not fallen. In a six weeks' campaign Turkish possessions in Europe had shrunk to Constantinople and the twenty-five mile stretch west to the Chataldja fortifications. This overthrow and collapse came as a staggering surprise to the Turks, the Balkan Allies themselves, and the Great Powers. The Ottoman Empire in Europe had ceased to exist, with the exception of Constantinople, Adrianople, Janina, and Scutari. The military prestige of Turkey was gone.

In December delegates from the various states met in London to make peace. They were unsuccessful because Bulgaria demanded the surrender of Adrianople, which the Turks flatly refused. In March, 1913,

therefore, the war was resumed. One after another the fortresses fell, Janina on March 6, Adrianople on March 26, Scutari on April 23. Turkey was now compelled to accept terms of peace. On May 30, the Treaty of London was signed. It provided that a line should be drawn from Enos on the Ægean Sea to Midia on the Black Sea and that all Turkey west of that line should be ceded to the Balkan Allies, except a region of undefined dimensions on the Adriatic, Albania, whose boundaries and status should be determined by the Great Powers. Crete was ceded to the Great Powers and the decision as to the islands in the Ægean which Greece had seized was also left to them. In December, 1913, Crete was incorporated in the kingdom of Greece. The Sultan's dominions in Europe had shrunk nearly to the vanishing point. After five centuries of proud possession he found himself almost expelled from Europe, retaining still Constantinople and only enough territory round about to protect it. This great achievement was the work of the four Balkan states, united for once in the common work of liberation. The Great Powers had done nothing. Europe felt relieved, however, that so great a change as this in the map of the Balkan peninsula had been effected without involving the Great Powers in war.

The Treaty of London, however, had not long to live. No sooner had the Balkan states conquered Turkey than they fell to fighting among themselves over the division of the spoils. The responsibility for this calamity does not rest solely with them. It rests in part with the Great Powers, particularly with Aus-

tria and Italy. It was the intervention of these powers and their insistence upon the creation of a new independent state, Albania, out of a part of the territory now relinquished by the Turks, that precipitated a crisis whose very probable issue would be war. For the creation of this new state on the Adriatic coast absolutely prevented Serbia from realizing one of her most passionate and legitimate ambitions, an outlet to the sea, an escape from her land-locked condition which placed her at the mercy of her neighbors.

Before beginning the war with the Turks, Serbia and Bulgaria had defined their future spheres of influence in upper Macedonia, should the war result in their favor. The larger part of Macedonia should go to Bulgaria, and Serbia's gains should be chiefly in the west, including the longed-for Adriatic seacoast. But now Albania was planted there and Serbia was as land-locked as ever. Austria was resolved that Serbia should under no conditions become an Adriatic state. She had always been opposed to the aggrandizement of Serbia, because she had millions of Serbs under her own rule who might be attracted to an independent Serbia, enlarged and with prestige heightened. Moreover, she believed that Serbia would be the pawn of Russia, and she would not tolerate Russia's influence on her southern borders and along the Adriatic, if she could help it. She did not propose to be less important in those waters than she had been in the past. Therefore, Serbia must be excluded from the Adriatic. It was the blocking of Serbia's outlet to the sea that caused the second Balkan war between the allies. Intense was the in-

dignation of the Serbians, but they could do nothing. They, therefore, sought as partial compensation larger territories in Macedonia than their treaty with Bulgaria had assigned them, arguing, correctly enough, that the conditions had greatly changed from those contemplated when that agreement was made and that the new conditions justified and necessitated a new arrangement. But here they encountered the stubborn opposition of Bulgaria, which refused any concessions along this line and insisted upon the strict observance of the treaty. Instantly the old, bitter hatred of these two countries for each other flamed up again. The Serbians insisted that the expulsion of the Turks had been the work of all the allies and that there should be a fair division of the territories acquired in the name of all. On the other hand, the Bulgarians argued that it had been they who had done the heavy fighting in the war, which was true, that they had furnished by far the larger number of troops, that it was their victories at Kirk Kilissé and Lulé Burgas that had annihilated the power of the Turks in Europe, that they were entitled to annex territories in Macedonia which they declared were peopled by Bulgarians. Other considerations also entered into the situation.

Suffice it to say that Bulgaria intended to have her way. Her army was elated by the recent astounding successes, was rather contemptuous of the Serbians and Greeks, emphatically minimized the services rendered by these to the common cause, thought that it could easily conquer both if necessary, and could take what territories it chose. It was Bulgaria, whose

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BUDA PEST
H U N G A R Y
Grosswardein
Klausenburg
Marja Theresiopel
Hodmezo Vasarhely
Szegedin
Arad
Temesvar
Nagy Kikinda
Lugos
Neusatz
Becskerek
Versetz
Resitza
BANAT
Drave R.
Esseg
SLAVONIA
Save
Bosna
Banjaluka
Belgrade
Semendria
Passarowitz
Shumadia
Orsova
Turnu Severin
Kragujevatz
Ushitza
Jadar
Drina
BOSNIA
Sarajevo
SERVIA
Widin
Kraiova
Transylvanian Alps
WALACHIA
Hermannstadt
Kronstadt
Fogaras
Alt (Aluta)
BUCHAREST
Baragan
Alexandria
Giurgiu
Rustchuk
Oltenitza
Silistria
Dobrudscha
Tschernavoda
Constanza (Kustendji)
Mangalia
Basardshik
Delli Grimen
Herzegovina
Mostar
Narenta
Novibazar
Mitrovitza
Alexinatz
Nish
Leskovatz
Pleva
Nicopoli
Shustova
Shumla
Varna
C. Kali Agra
BULGARIA
Balkan
Little Balkan
Tirnova
Sofia
Slivno
C. Emine
G. of Burgas
Yamboli
Trebinje
MONTENEGRO
Cattaro
Dulcigno
Antivari
Scutari
Prisrend
Kostendil
Vranja
Ipek
Uskub
EAST-RUMELIA
Philippopolis
Chaskoi
Tirnova
Kirk Kilisse
C. Iniada
Sabbioncello
Meleda
Ragusa
Borche di Cattaro
Cettigne
Drakona
Lissa
Curzola
Lesina
Zara
Zengg
Zirknitz L.
Carlstadt
Agram
Fiume
Sissek
Semlin
Temesvar
Nagy Szent Miklos
Grosskikinda
Hatzfeld
Lugos
Mehadia
Orsova
Turnu Severin
Hermannstadt
Kronstadt
Fogaras
Alt (Aluta)
Rothenthurm Pass
Kronstadt
Predeal
Ploiesti
Buzeu
Focsani
Galatz
Braila
Reni
Ismail
Kilia
Sulina
St. George
Danube Della
Soulina
Sereth
Pruth
Jassy
Pashkani
Piatra
Roman
Hushi
Vaslui
Berlad
Tekuch
Kishinef
Bolgrad
Tatarbunar
Akkerman
Dniester
Bessarabia
RUSSIA
ODESSA
BLACK SEA
Kaschau
Tokay
Miskolcz
Eperies
Bartfeld
Munkacs
Ungvar
Homonna
Sathmar
Nagy Karoly
Grosswardein
Debreczin
Klausenburg
Hodmezo Vasarhely
Szegedin
Arad
Temesvar
Nagy Kikinda
Lugos
Neusatz
Becskerek
Versetz
Resitza
Drave R.
Esseg
Banjaluka
Belgrade
Semendria
Passarowitz
Shumadia
Orsova
Turnu Severin
Kragujevatz
Ushitza
Jadar
Drina
Sarajevo
Widin
Kraiova
Transylvanian Alps
Hermannstadt
Kronstadt
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Alt (Aluta)
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Tekuch
Kishinef
Bolgrad
Tatarbunar
Akkerman
Dniester
Bessarabia
RUSSIA
ODESSA
BLACK SEA
Bucharest
Baragan
Alexandria
Giurgiu
Rustchuk
Oltenitza
Silistria
Dobrudscha
Tschernavoda
Constanza (Kustendji)
Mangalia
Basardshik
Delli Grimen
Herzegovina
Mostar
Narenta
Novibazar
Mitrovitza
Alexinatz
Nish
Leskovatz
Pleva
Nicopoli
Shustova
Shumla
Varna
C. Kali Agra
BULGARIA
Balkan
Little Balkan
Tirnova
Sofia
Slivno
C. Emine
G. of Burgas
Yamboli
Trebinje
MONTENEGRO
Cattaro
Dulcigno
Antivari
Scutari
Prisrend
Kostendil
Vranja
Ipek
Uskub
EAST-RUMELIA
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Eperies
Bartfeld
Munkacs
Ungvar
Homonna
Sathmar
Nagy Karoly
Grosswardein
Debreczin
Klausenburg
Hodmezo Vasarhely
Szegedin
Arad
Temesvar
Nagy Kikinda
Lugos
Neusatz
Becskerek
Versetz

THE
BALKAN STATES
ACCORDING TO THE
TREATY OF BUCHAREST
Acquisitions of New Territory shown by darker shades
Scale of Miles
0
50
100
150
200
MACEDONIA
SALONIKI (Salonica)
Chalkidike
Gulf of Saloniki
Thasos
Samothrace
Limnos
Imbros
Enos
Gallipoli
Chersonesus
Rodosto
CONSTANTINOPLE
Sea of Marmora
Brusa
TURKISH EMPIRE
ASIA MINOR
Mytilene (Lesbos)
Bergama (Pergamon)
Lydia
Manissa
SMYRNA
Chios
Samos
Aidin
Miletos
Mendelia
Kos
Rhodes
Karpathos
Astropalia
Naxos
Amorgos
Los
Milos
Andros
Tinos
Syros
Paros
Cyclades
Skyros
Northern Sporades
Euboea
Thessaly
Larissa
Volo
Trikkala
Pharsalos
Yanina
Prevesa
Corfu (Kerkyra)
Cephalonia
Zakynthos (Zante)
IONIAN SEA
ATHENS
Thebes
Corinth
Gulf of Corinth
Patras
Lepanto
Missolonghi
Arta
Pyrgos
Tripolis
Sparta
Kalamata
PELOPONNESUS
Cythera (Cerigo)
Canal of Cythera
Antikythera (Cerigotto)
Cape Matia
Cape Malea
Gulf of Koroni
Gulf of Kythion
Messina Bay
Gaudos
Kythonisi
Gaidaronisi
Cape Krio
Cape Sidero
Cape Prasonisi
Saria
Chamulonisi
Sapuchia I.
Syrnos
Kasos
Arnathias
Dia
Megalokastro (Candia)
Chania
Cape Spatha
Cape Busaro
CRETE OR CANDIA (KIRID)
SEA OF CANDIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Longitude East from Greenwich
22
24
26
28
36
38
40

war party had lost all sense of proportion, all sense of the rights of her former allies, that began the new struggle. She treacherously attacked Greece and Serbia at the end of June, 1913. Fierce fighting ensued for several days.

Bulgaria's action in plunging into this avoidable conflict was all the more foolhardy as her relations with her northern neighbor, Roumania, were also unsettled and precarious. Roumania had demanded that Bulgaria cede her a strip of territory in the northeast of Bulgaria, in order that the balance of power among the Balkan states might remain practically what it had been. Bulgaria had refused this so-called compensation. The result was that Roumania also went to war with Bulgaria. The Turks, too, seeing a chance to recover some of the land they had recently lost, joined in the war.

Thus Bulgaria was confronted on all sides by enemies. She was at war with five states, not three, for Montenegro was also involved. By the middle of July she saw that the case was hopeless and consented to make peace, by the Treaty of Bucharest, signed August 10, 1913, by which Serbia and Greece secured larger possessions than they had ever anticipated, and by which Roumania was given the territory she desired. Turkey also recovered a large area which she had lost the year before, including the important city and fortress of Adrianople. All this was at the expense of Bulgaria, who paid for her arrogance and unconciliatory temper by losing much territory which she would otherwise have secured, by seeing her former and hated allies victorious over her in the field

and in annexations of territory which she regarded as rightfully hers. Bulgaria was deeply embittered by all this and only waited for an opportunity to tear up the Treaty of Bucharest, which she refused to consider as morally binding, as in any sense a permanent settlement of the Balkans. The year 1913 will remain of bitter memory in the minds of all Bulgarians.

The two Balkan wars cost heavily in human life and in treasure. Turkey and Bulgaria each lost over 150,000 in killed and wounded, Serbia over 70,000, Greece nearly as many, little Montenegro over 10,000. The losses among non-combatants were heavy in those who died from starvation, or disease, or massacre, for the second war was one of indisputable atrocity. On the other hand, Montenegro, Greece, and Serbia had nearly doubled in size. Bulgaria and Roumania had grown. The Turkish Empire in Europe had shrunk to a comparatively small area.

We must now examine the reaction of all these profound and astonishing changes in the Balkans upon Europe in general. In other words, we must study the causes of the war of 1914. For the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913 were a prelude to the European War. The sequence of events from the Turkish Revolution of July, 1908, to the Austrian declaration of war upon Serbia in July, 1914, is direct, unmistakable, disastrous. Each year added a link to the lengthening chain of iron. The map of Europe was thrown into the flames. What the new map would be no one could foresee.

It may be said in passing that the new Albanian

state proved a fiasco from the start and that it disappeared completely when the war began in August, 1914, the powers that had created it withdrawing their support and its German prince, William of Wied, leaving for Germany, where he joined the army that was fighting France. He had meanwhile announced his abdication in a high-flown manifesto.

CHAPTER XVI

THE WORLD WAR

In August, 1913, the long-drawn-out crisis in the Balkans seemed safely over with the Treaty of Bucharest, to the apparent satisfaction of the people of Europe. It had not resulted in what had been greatly feared, a European war. That had been avoided and the world breathed more freely. But that this feeling was not shared by the governments of Austria and Germany has since been revealed. Though this was not publicly known until more than a year afterward, it is now established that on August 9, 1913, the day before the Treaty of Bucharest was formally signed, Austria informed her ally, Italy, that she proposed to take action against Serbia. She represented this proposed action as defensive and as therefore justifying her in expecting the aid of Italy under the terms of the treaty of the Triple Alliance. Italy through her prime minister, Giolitti, refused to accede to this view, stating that such a war would not be one of defense on the part of Austria, as no one was thinking of attacking her. The treaty of Triple Alliance required its members to aid each other only in the case of a defensive war forced upon a colleague. Austria, then, planned war upon Serbia in August, 1913. Whether she was restrained by the knowledge that

Italy would not support her or by other considerations is a matter for conjecture.

Prince von Bülow, who for nine years had been Chancellor of Germany, has declared that the collapse of Turkey was a blow to Germany, which meant that it imperiled the plans which Germany was nourishing for expansion or influence in the Balkans and the East. It was on this ground that in 1913 new army and taxation bills, extraordinarily increasing Germany's preparedness for war, were carried through. This inevitably led to similar, though not to as sweeping, legislation in France.

Austria and Germany, therefore, were far from pleased at the outcome of events in the Balkans, and the former, a great European state of fifty millions, was planning action by arms against Serbia, a nation of now perhaps four millions, a nation both exhausted and elated by two years of war. Of course Austria knew that any such action would bring Russia upon the scene, and that was the reason for her desiring the eventual support of her two allies. While for reasons that are somewhat obscure, Austria finally did not consider the moment opportune for making war on Serbia in August, 1913, she did consider it opportune in July, 1914, and from her action at that time came swiftly and dramatically the Great War.

The relations of Austria-Hungary and Serbia have already been alluded to, the former's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, and her part in the creation of the new state of Albania for the same purpose, to prevent Serbia's getting any outlet to the sea. Yet, though successful in this, she had not been

able to prevent the growth of Serbia. Serbia had, however, submitted in 1908 and 1909 and in 1913, to demands which emanated from Austria-Hungary and which were deeply humiliating. On both sides there was, as there had long been, plenty of bad blood.

Suddenly a horrible crime occurred which set in motion a mighty and lamentable train of events. On June 28, 1914, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, nephew of the Emperor of Austria, and heir to the throne, was, with his wife, assassinated in the streets of Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. The men who had done the infamous deed were Austrian subjects, natives of Bosnia. But they were Serbians by race. An outburst of intense indignation followed against the Serbians, "a nation of assassins," it was declared. Serbia was, by Austrian opinion, held responsible, although the crime occurred on Austrian soil and was committed by Austrian subjects, and although Austrian methods of rule in Bosnia were of such a character as sufficiently to account for the dastardly crime. At any rate, the desire for war was expressed in many Austrian newspapers, which held the Serbian government responsible.

But four weeks went by and the Austrian Government took no action. No information could be obtained by the diplomats in Vienna as to what she proposed to do. They saw no reason for any particular worry, as the government was evidently so self-contained, and they therefore took their usual vacations. It was intimated that Austria would make some demands upon Serbia, but that they would be

Lincoln Sea
Hazen Ld.
Wyckoff
Markham I.
Heilprin Ld.
East Greenld.
Grant Ld.
Hall Ld.
Academy Ld.
Grinnell Ld.
Washington Ld.
Isachsen Ld.
Ellesmere I.
Inglefield Ld.
Etah
Prudhoe Ld.
Lincoln Ld.
Pr. Patrick I.
Parry Is.
Melville I.
Bathurst
North Devon
GREENLAND
Banks Str.
Melville Sd.
BAFFIN BAY
Upernivik
Franz Josef Fj.
Banks Ld.
Pr. Albert Land
Baffin Ld.
Davis Str.
C. Barrow
Arctic Circle
Iceland
Nome
Dawson
Klondike
Great Bear L.
Ft. Norman
ALASKA
NORTH AMERICA
Great Slave L.
Hudson Bay
Shetland
Lawrence I.
British Columbia
DOMINION OF CANADA
Ft. Churchill
Hebrides
GREAT
St. Paul
Sitka
Labrador
Ireland
Queen Charlotte I.
Winnepeg
Aleutian Is.
Vancouver I.
Victoria
Quebec
N. Foundland
St. Johns
BRITAIN
Portland
Minneapolis
Montreal
Halifax
Bordeaux
Denver
Chicago
Boston
Washington
Philadelphia
Flores
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
San Francisco
St. Louis
UNITED STATES
Gibraltar
Madeira Is.
Funchal
Bermudas I.
Necker I.
New Orleans
Charleston
Canary Is.
Tropic of Cancer
Havana
Tenerife
Las Palmas
Honolulu
Mazatlan
Mexico
Progreso
Jamaica
HAITI
Rio de Oro
Johnston
Hawaii
Revilla Gigedo Is.
Acapulco
Kingston
St. Vincent
Trinidad
Palmyra
Clipperton I.
GUATEMALA
SALVADOR
Georgetown
Paramaribo
Cayenne
Fanning I.
Howland I.
Christmas I.
Equator
Cocos I.
Panama
COLOMBIA
Guiana
Liberia
Phoenix Is.
Malden
Starbuck Is.
Galapagos Is.
Quito
Bogota
Marajo
Tokelau Is.
Manihiki Is.
Marquesa Is.
Wallis I.
Savaro I.
Apia
Samoa
Paumotu or Lowe Is.
Pagopago
Society Is.
Cook I.
Tahiti
Niuc
Tongatabu
Hull I.
Tabuar
Tropic of Capricorn
Pitcairn I.
Sister I.
Salay Gomez
S. Ambrosio
Antofagasta
Pernambuco
Bahia
Rio de Janeiro
Warekauri Is.
Valparaiso
Mas a fuera
Juan Fernandez
Santiago
URUGUAY
Montevidio
Buenos Aires
Tristan da Cunha
Arenas
Falkland Is.
Magellan Str.
Tierra del Fuego
Staten I.
C. Horn
S. Georgia I.
Sandwich I.
Elephant I.
S. Orkney I.
S. Shetl. Is.
Smith I.
K. George I.
Joinville I.
Philipp Ld.
Mt. Huddington
Graham Land
Kg. Oscar Ld.
Alexander I. Land
Florida
Bahama Is.
West Long. to Greenwich
Gr. Abaco
Sablo
Nassau
Bahama
Andros
Lucayan Is.
Havana
Tropic of Cancer
Cuba
Gr. Inagua
Caicos I.
Ide Pinos
Gr. Cayman
Jamaica
Haiti
Santo Domingo
S. Juan
Kingston
Santo Domingo
Porto Rico
Barbuda
Monserrat Br.
Guadelupe
Dominica Br.
CARIBBEAN SEA
Nicaragua
Oruba
Buen Ayre
St. Vincent
Martinique
Sain Lucia Br.
Barbados
Curavao
Margarita
Grenada
Tobago
Trinidad
Costa Rica
Panama
Venezuela
Colombia
WEST INDIES
British
French
United States
Danish
Dutch
Britis
Germ
Portu
Dutch
COLONIA
EUROP
W. Long. from Greenwich

30 45 60 75 90 105 120 135 150 165
Franz Josef Ld
Spitzbergen
O C E A N
C. Cheliuskin
Bear I.
North Cape
Alexandrovsk
Tromsoe
New Siberia Is
Arctic Circle
Archangel
Obdorsk
Lower Tunguska
Yakutsk
Tobolsk
Yeniseisk
Tunguska
Ekaterinburg
Tomsk
Krasnoyarsk
Moscow
Kazan
Omsk
Irkutsk
Nikolaievsk
Petropaulovski
Commander Is.
Aleutian Is.
Orenburg
Semipalatinsk
Baikal L.
Urga
Mongolia
Harbin
Saghalien
Kurile Is.
Balkash L.
Aral
Lake
Tashkent
CHINESE EMPIRE
Vladivostok
Yesso
Karashar
Port Arthur
Suchôu
Tien tsin
JAPANESE EMPIRE
Khotan
Nankin
Nagasaki
Tibet
Han kau
Bonin Is.
Vulcan Is.
Tropic of Cancer
Marcus Is.
Marianna Is.
Formosa
Luzon
Philippine Is
Guam
Seipan
Yap
Providence Is.
Brown Is.
Marshall Arch.
Rolik
Ratak
Penape
Yaluit
Buck I.
Carolines
Kusaie
Equator
Nauri
Gilbert
Ocean I.
Ellice Is.
St Cruz Is.
Louisade
Rotuman
Solomon Is
New Guinea
Bismarck Archipelago
Timor
Batavia
Christmas I.
Keeling
Broome
Cooktown
Chesterfield I.
Loyalty Is.
Tropic of Capricorn
Queensland
Brisbane
Norfolk I.
AUSTRALIA
West Austr. South Australia
New S. Wales
Lord Howe I
Perth
Adelaide
Sydney
Melbourne
Kangaroo I.
Victoria
Auckland
Wellington
Christchurch
Tasmania
Hobart
New Zealand
Stewart I.
Bounty I.
Auckland Is.
Antipodes I.
Campbell I.
Macquarie.
Pr Edward I.
Crozet I
Kerguelen
McDonald Is.
Seychelles Is.
Chagas I
Mahe
Amirante Is.
Diego Garcia
Diego Suarez
St Marie I
Rodriguez I
Mauritius I
Reunion
Natal
Durban
Port Elizabeth
Johannesburg
Mafia I
Zanzibar
Pemba
Mombasa
Malindi
Maldive Is.
Laccadive Is
Sokotra
Ras Hafun
Abyssinia
Aden
Socotra
Muscat
Mecca
Medina
Jidda
Kamaran
Masaua
Massowah
Suakin
Dongola
Nubia
Khartoum
Kordofan
Darfur
Wadai
Timbuctoo
Senegambia
Liberia
Ivory Coast
Gold Coast
Lagos
Niger
Benin
Bight of Benin
Bight of Biafra
Cameroons
Gaboon
Loango
Congo State
Angola
Benguela
Mozambique
Zambesi
Beira
Mashonaland
Matabeleland
Transvaal
Orange Free State
Cape Colony
Cape Town
Port Natal
Durban
Cape Prov
Bechuanaland
Damaraland
Walfisch Bay
Ovampoland
Cape Frio
Loanda
Congo
Stanley Pool
Tanganyika L.
Victoria Nyanza
Albert Nyanza
Albert L.
Lake Rudolf
Abyssinia
Shoa
Ankober
Gondar
Lake Tsana
Sources of the Nile
Nile
Egypt
Cairo
Alexandria
Suez
Red Sea
Arabia
Aden
Muscat
Persian Gulf
Bushire
Bussorah
Euphrates
Tigris
Bagdad
Babylon
Mesopotamia
Kurdistan
Armenia
Lake Van
Ararat
Caucasus
Mt Elbruz
Caspian Sea
Baku
Astrakhan
Volga
Kazan
Samara
Orenburg
Ural
Ural Mts
Perm
Vyatka
Kama
Petchora
Archangel
Onega L.
Ladoga L.
Lake Peipus
Riga
Gulf of Riga
Gulf of Finland
Petersburg
Helsingfors
Gulf of Bothnia
Wasa
Stockholm
Sweden
Norway
Christiania
Trondhjem
Bergen
Lofoten Is
Hammerfest
North Cape
Tromsoe
Alexandrovsk
Kola
Lapland
Finland
Russia
Poland
Warsaw
Vistula
Prussia
Konigsberg
Memel
Courland
Livonia
Esthonia
Reval
Pomerania
Stettin
Oder
Berlin
Elbe
Hanover
Hamburg
Bremen
Ems
Rhine
Holland
Amsterdam
The Hague
Rotterdam
Belgium
Brussels
Antwerp
Ostend
Calais
Dover
English Channel
Boulogne
Paris
Seine
Normandy
Brittany
Cherbourg
Channel Is
Jersey
Guernsey
Alderney
Sark
Bay of Biscay
Loire
Nantes
Bordeaux
Garonne
Toulouse
Pyrenees
Spain
Biarritz
Bilbao
Santander
Gijon
Corunna
Cape Finisterre
Oporto
Portugal
Lisbon
Cape St Vincent
Gibraltar
Tangier
Fez
Morocco
Algeciras
Strait of Gibraltar
Tarifa
Cape Trafalgar
Cadiz
Seville
Guadalquivir
Cordova
Granada
Malaga
Cape de Gata
Cape Palos
Cartagena
Alicante
Valencia
Ebro
Saragossa
Barcelona
Balearic Is
Majorca
Minorca
Ivica
Iviza
Algiers
Oran
Bona
Tunis
Tripoli
Barbary
Sahara
Timbuctoo
Soudan
Nigritia
Bornu
Lake Tchad
Kanem
Wadai
Darfur
Kordofan
Nubia
Dongola
Khartoum

of a moderate character. There was widespread sympathy with her and a general feeling that she would be justified in demanding certain things of Serbia. The representatives of the various European governments were kept in ignorance. A despatch, which was destined to shake the very foundations of the world, was being fashioned, in utter silence and mystery.

On July 23, Austria delivered this despatch to Serbia. It began by accusing the Serbian Government of not having fulfilled the obligations it had assumed in 1909 toward Austria. It demanded that the Serbian Government should publish an official statement, the terms of which were dictated in the despatch, expressing its disapproval of the propaganda in Serbia against Austria-Hungary and its regret that Serbian officials had taken part in this propaganda. In the despatch the murder of the Archduke was ascribed to that propaganda. Then followed ten demands upon the Serbian Government concerning the suppression of the Pan-Serbian propaganda carried on by the newspapers and the secret societies of Serbia. The despatch demanded that the Serbian Government should suppress any publication which fostered hatred of and contempt for the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, should take the most comprehensive measures for the suppression and extinction of the secret societies, should eliminate from the schools all teachers and from text-books anything that served or might serve to foster the propaganda against Austria-Hungary, should remove from the army and from government positions all officials involved in the same propaganda,

whose names the Austrian Government reserved the right to communicate, and that Serbia should accept the coöperation of Austrian officials in the work of investigating the conspiracy of June 28. Other clauses in this fateful despatch concerned the arrest of the accomplices in the assassination and the prevention of the trade in arms and explosives across the frontier. Annexed to the despatch was a memorandum asserting that the murder of the Archduke and the Archduchess had been plotted in Serbia and had been executed through the complicity of Serbian officials.

This despatch, harsh in its language, dictatorial in its demands, was an ultimatum, for it required the acceptance of it in its entirety within forty-eight hours, and it allowed no time for investigation or discussion of the charges made and the problems created by the peremptory demand. No nation would issue such a note to an equal without intending and without desiring war. Issued to a power vastly inferior, it could mean only unprecedented humiliation or national extinction, if followed up at the expiration of forty-eight hours.

This Austrian ultimatum created a grave crisis. The ultimatum was not a passionate and unreflecting outburst of the Austrian Government, swept away by a natural anger at the foul murders. It was a cold-blooded and deliberate document, composed after four weeks of secret preparation. The Russian ambassador had not been told that it was coming and had left Vienna for his vacation. The Italian Government had not been informed, although it was an ally and was particularly concerned with anything that

affected the Balkan peninsula in any way or part. In this fact Italy was to find her justification for remaining neutral when the war finally broke out, as she regarded that war as an aggressive one begun by Austria. The ultimatum gave Serbia the alternative of accepting egregiously humiliating conditions, practically reducing her to the state of a vassal of Austria, or of accepting war.

England, France, and Russia tried to induce Austria to extend her time limit as the only way in which diplomacy might seek to act in the matter, as, moreover, required if the relations of nations were to be governed by a reasonable consideration for each other's rights or wishes. Their efforts were in vain. They then turned to Serbia, urging her, in the interests of Europe in general, to make her answer as conciliatory as possible. The result was that Serbia in her reply yielded to the greater part of what Austria demanded and that she offered, in case Austria was not satisfied with her answer, to refer the question to the Hague Tribunal or to a conference of the Great Powers.

No state ever made a more complete submission under particularly humiliating circumstances. Austria, however, immediately declared the Serbian answer unsatisfactory and prepared for war. She well knew that such action would necessarily draw Russia into the controversy. She had every reason a state can have for knowing that, after the defiance of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, another attack upon a small Slavic people would deeply offend the leading Slavic power. Austria could

not and did not expect to be able to wreak her vengeance upon Serbia without having to take Russia into account. Hers, therefore, is the responsibility for a deliberate and highly dangerous provocation of a great state. Russia, a Slavic power, could not be ignored by Teutonic powers in determining the future of Slavic peoples. If there was a single well-known fact in the whole domain of European politics it was that Russia was greatly interested in the fate of the Slav states of the Balkans. If there was any other well-established commonplace of European politics, it was this, that every Balkan question has always been considered as of general concern, as distinctly international. As a matter of fact, Serbia's obligations of 1909, already referred to, were undertaken to the Powers, not to Austria alone.

Austria's position was that her action concerned herself and Serbia alone; that no other nation or nations were involved or had any rights in the matter. In this she was supported from start to finish by Germany. Both Austria and Germany were aware that warlike steps against Serbia would bring Russia into the question and that, owing to the obligations of the Triple and Dual alliances, a general European war might result, yet both steadily refused to consider that Russia had any right to intervene; it was all a matter solely between the two, Austria and Serbia.

Naturally Russia did not take this view. Her warnings having proved unavailing, when Austria began to prepare for the attack upon Serbia, Russia began to mobilize. The policy of Germany through that last

week of July was to support Austria in her contention that this was her affair. She asserted that the quarrel was solely one between those two and that no outside power had the right to intervene, that, if the trouble could be kept confined to those two, there would be no general disturbance of the peace, that if the Czar, however, interfered there would be "on account of the various alliances, inconceivable consequences." If this was all that Germany did for peace, which she asserts she made every effort to maintain, then she did simply nothing, for this policy of "localization of the conflict" begged the whole question. It assumed that neither Russia nor any other power was in any way concerned. This was an absolutely untenable position in the light of history, of reason, of interest. The question was a part of the Eastern Question which over and over has been considered and known to be emphatically international. No aspect of that question is to be left to the determination of a state of fifty millions in conflict with one of four or five.

A proposal was made by England that the question at issue should be submitted to a conference to be held in London by the Great Powers not directly concerned, namely Germany, France, England, and Italy. Perhaps these four might bring about the adjustment of the difficulties between Serbia and Austria and Russia. Russia signified her willingness, but the proposal was declined by Germany. Other suggestions of a somewhat similar nature looking toward delay and diplomatic discussion or mediation likewise fell before the opposition or indifference of Germany.

Then when England asked Germany herself to suggest some method of mediation for the preservation of peace, she had nothing to suggest. She simply reaffirmed her position that the whole matter concerned merely Austria and Serbia. She was willing to appeal and did appeal to Russia to keep out, to refrain from mobilizing, but her appeal was always based on this thesis that the quarrel did not concern Russia, but did concern simply Austria and Serbia, a point of view which, naturally, Russia did not and could not share. Germany was ready to coöperate with other powers in bringing pressure to bear upon Russia, but not upon her ally Austria, who had begun the whole trouble and to whom she gave a free hand in her procedure toward Serbia.

The attitudes of Germany and Russia were irreconcilable. Germany held that Russia should allow Austria entire liberty of action. Russia believed that Austria's uncompromising and violent procedure demanded a Russian mobilization "directed solely against Austria-Hungary" as the only method that might cause that country to moderate her procedure and induce her to recognize the rights of others. If Russia remained inactive, then Austria would do what she liked with Serbia. Russia emphatically claimed the right to be consulted in the settlement of Balkan matters. Austria had mobilized and on July 28 had begun a war upon Serbia. Russia accordingly mobilized against Austria. Germany considered this action a menace to herself, and on July 31 sent an ultimatum to Russia demanding that Russia begin to demobilize her army within twelve hours: otherwise Germany

would mobilize. As Russia did not reply to this peremptory demand, Germany, on August 1, declared that a state of war existed between Russia and Germany. The German declaration of war against Russia necessarily meant war with France as well, because of the Dual Alliance.

We have seen that this Dual Alliance was the inevitable outcome of the existence and power of the Triple Alliance, concluded between Germany, Austria, and Italy in 1882. The Dual Alliance grew out of the need which both Russia and France felt of outside support in the presence of so powerful a combination. If there was to be anything like a balance of power in Europe, Russia and France must combine. Both alliances were defensive. The action of Austria against Serbia brought Russia upon the scene. Russia's action brought Germany forward. Germany's action necessitated action on the part of France.

One state was free to act as it saw fit, its conduct not controlled by any entangling alliance, England. The Triple and Dual Alliances rested on definite treaties, neither of which had been made public, and imposed obligations upon the contracting parties. There had in recent years also grown up what was called the Triple Entente. The commercial rivalry of Germany and England, during the past fifteen or twenty years, expressing itself in a struggle for markets, in colonial competitions, in a striking development of naval power, has been an outstanding fact in recent European history. Great Britain, seeing that her policy of isolation was possibly becoming

dangerous with so active and successful a rival in the field, sought, in the first decade of the twentieth century, to settle long continued misunderstandings with France and Russia. This she did by a treaty with France in 1904 and with Russia in 1907. These agreements settled certain problems and provided certain measures in common, the former in Africa, the latter in Asia. During succeeding diplomatic crises the three powers worked in substantial harmony. But the Triple Entente was not an alliance: it was simply a diplomatic group that might be found working together when the interests of its members happened to coincide. There was no actual alliance between Great Britain and France and there was no understanding of any kind between Great Britain and Russia, with regard to any European policy or contingency. When the crisis of 1914 arose Great Britain was free to act as she chose, in the light of what she considered her interests. The diplomatic correspondence shows that this was understood in Berlin and Vienna as it was understood in Paris and St. Petersburg.

But while Great Britain had no alliances that necessarily involved her in the present war, yet as a European power, and as a great, imperial, colonial state, she had many and important interests for which she must care. It was for her interest that there should be no European war and it was also for the interest of Europe and the world. The negotiations of that week in July, from the issuance of the ultimatum to Serbia to the declarations of war, abundantly demonstrate that she made earnest, repeated,

and varied efforts to bring about a peaceful solution of the problems that had been so suddenly thrust forward. She was wedded to no particular scheme or formula and invited Germany to make suggestions that might effect the adjustment, if dissatisfied with hers. But despite her efforts a war had come involving at least four large states, Austria, Russia, Germany, and France, and one small state, Serbia. Would the conflagration spread? What would England do?

It was certainly not for her interest that France should be conquered by Germany, as that would reduce France to the position of a satellite and would immensely augment the power and prestige of Germany. Moreover, England was bound in honor to prevent any attack upon the Atlantic seacoast of France, as, since 1912, she had had a naval agreement with France whereby the French fleet was concentrated in the Mediterranean in order that England might keep larger naval forces in the home waters. It seems probable that England would have been drawn into the war necessarily if France was attacked, which was, of course, the purpose of Germany. But her participation was rendered inevitable by Germany's attack upon Belgium.

Three of the small states of Europe, Belgium, Luxemburg, and Switzerland, have been by international agreements declared neutral territory forever. By these agreements the countries concerned should never make war, nor should they ever be attacked. The powers that signed the treaties bound themselves to respect and preserve that neutrality. The

treaty guaranteeing the neutralization of Belgium was signed by England, France, Prussia, Austria, and Russia. For over eighty years that obligation had been scrupulously observed. Now, on August 2, Germany sent an ultimatum to Belgium, demanding that she allow the German armies to cross her territory, promising to evacuate it after peace was concluded, and stating that, if she refused, her fate would be determined by the fortunes of war. Belgium replied that she had always been faithful to her international obligations, that the attack upon her independence would constitute a flagrant violation of international law, that she would not sacrifice her honor and at the same time be recreant to her duty toward Europe, but that her army would resist the invader to the utmost of its ability.

As Austria's ultimatum of July 23 meant the annihiliation of the independence of one small state, Serbia, Germany's ultimatum of August 2 meant the annihilation of the independence of another small state, Belgium. Germany's action was the baser and the more dishonorable, as she had promised to respect the neutrality of the country which she was now about to destroy.

The reason for this action was that the easiest way for German armies to get into France was over Belgian soil. Germany intended to crush France as rapidly as possible, then to turn upon Russia and crush her. The invasion of France direct from Germany would necessarily be slower, if possible at all, as that frontier was strongly fortified. The official statement of the Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg,

made in the Reichstag on August 4, declared that Germany was acting in self-defense: "Necessity knows no law. Our troops have occupied Luxemburg and have perhaps already entered on Belgian soil. Gentlemen, this is a breach of international law. The French Government has, it is true, notified Brussels that it would respect the neutrality of Belgium as long as the enemy respected it. But we know that France stood ready for an invasion. France could wait, we could not. A French attack upon our flank in the lower Rhine might have been disastrous. Thus we have been obliged to ignore the just protests of the governments of Luxemburg and Belgium. The injustice, I speak frankly, the injustice that we are committing we will endeavor to make good as soon as our military aims have been attained. Anybody who is threatened as we are threatened and is fighting for his highest possessions can think only of one thing, how he is to hack his way through." Thus the official, authoritative spokesman of Germany pronounced her own act unjust, thereby proclaiming the faithfulness of Belgium to all her obligations, admitted that Germany was doing Belgium a wrong, and that the action was in defiance of the law of nations. It was justified by necessity, he said.

A nation of sixty-five millions attacked a nation of seven millions, whose neutrality it had sworn to maintain, because, as the German Secretary of State, Jagow, said on that same August 4, with frankness, "they had to advance into France by the quickest and easiest way, so as to be able to get well ahead with their operations and endeavor to strike some decisive

blow as early as possible. It was a matter of life and death for them."

England could correctly assert that she had worked for peace "up to the last moment, and beyond the last moment." Now she entered the war because she had vital interests in the independence of Belgium, and because of her explicit treaty obligations. For hundreds of years her policy had been to prevent the control of those coasts from being a menace to her own coast across the narrow channel as they would be in the hands of a strong military power. Over this question England had fought or acted repeatedly for centuries against the Spaniards, against the French; now it was to be against the Germans. That in protecting her vital interests she would also be keeping her solemn promises and defending a small and peaceful state against the wanton aggression of a ruthless and mighty military power, engaged, according to its own admission, in a flagrant violation of the law of nations, was to her vast moral advantage in securing the spontaneous sympathy and support of her own people and widespread approval beyond her borders.

On the 23d of July, 1914, there was a dull midsummer peace in Europe. By August 4 seven nations were at war. The responsibility for this tragic, monstrous, unnecessary crime against civilization, against humanity, was lightly assumed. The situation was created by the authorized heads of various states. Any power that in that crisis showed a willingness to delay, to negotiate, to confer, was working in the interest of peace. Any power that declined to do this, that adopted a peremptory attitude, that issued

ultimatums with incredibly short time limits, hastened the appalling entanglement and was ready for war, whether it desired or intended it or not.

The opinion of the outside world as to where that responsibility lies has been overwhelmingly expressed. That opinion was shared by a state that had for thirty-two years been the ally of Austria and Germany and was an ally in August, 1914. When asked on August 1, by the German ambassador, what were Italy's intentions, the Italian Government replied through its minister of foreign affairs that "as the war undertaken by Austria was aggressive and did not fall within the purely defensive character of the Triple Alliance, particularly in view of the consequences which might result from it according to the declaration of the German ambassador, Italy would not be able to take part in the war."

The War in 1914

Austria's determination to wreak her wrath upon Serbia, to punish, humiliate, and master that small but independent and successful state, had led straight, and with incredible swiftness, to an appalling issue. Five great nations, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Russia, France, and England, and two small nations, Serbia and Belgium, had passed, within a space of twelve momentous days, from a state of peace to one of war. From the Ural Mountains to the Atlantic Ocean, from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, hundreds of millions of men found themselves caught in the meshes of a gigantic conflict, whose cost in human life and

happiness and treasure must inevitably be tremendous. The world was stunned by the criminal levity with which Austria-Hungary and Germany had created this hideous situation.

The sinister and brutal challenge was, however, accepted immediately and with iron resolution by those who had done their utmost during those twelve days to avert the catastrophe, and not only great powers like France and England, but small ones, like Belgium and Serbia, never hesitated, but resolved to do or die. That the contest was not merely a material one, but that the most precious moral and spiritual interests were involved, was clearly seen and stated at the very beginning of the war by the responsible statesmen of France and England. In those early days Mr. Asquith, prime minister of Great Britain, expressed the common resolution of the Western powers when he declared: "We shall never sheathe the sword which we have not lightly drawn until Belgium recovers in full measure all and more than all that she has sacrificed, until France is adequately secured against the menace of aggression, until the rights of the smaller nationalities of Europe are placed upon an unassailable foundation, and until the military domination of Prussia is wholly and finally destroyed." A cause dedicated to such aims as those was worthy of the supreme sacrifice it would pitilessly exact.

Why these references to Belgium and France? Because, in the military plans of Germany, these two were to be overrun and conquered first, then Russia, and then the dominance of Europe by Germany

would be achieved and rendered unassailable. After that let the world look out. It would receive its orders from Berlin and it would know full well the meaning of disobedience.

Germany had demanded free passage for her troops through Belgium. King Albert, one of the unsullied heroes of a war rich in heroes, had at that critical moment embodied the spirit of his people and had added luster to the name of Belgium forever when, in reply to the arrogant demand, he announced that "the Belgian Government is firmly resolved to repel with all the means in its power every attack upon its rights." Then the thunder-cloud broke. The mighty German army burst upon the land, resolved to get to Paris by the shortest route, the valley of the Meuse. The fortress of Liège stood in the way. It was bombarded by powerful artillery and forced to surrender on August 7. Brussels was occupied on August 20. But the fall of Liège did not clear the route to France. Namur stood in the way and here the Belgians were aided by the French, and by the British, hurrying to the scene their "contemptible little army," as the Kaiser is said to have called it. Namur was occupied on August 22. Mons was next attacked and the French and English were compelled to begin a retreat. Withdraw they must or the German armies would envelop them and a disaster like that of Sedan in 1870 might result. The great retreat from Mons southward continued day after day, night after night, rapid, harrowing, critical, incessant, annihilation constantly threatening. City after city in northern France fell into the hands of

the Germans, who advanced to within fifteen miles of Paris. The Government of France was removed to Bordeaux. The completion of German victory seemed at hand. August was a month of gloom for the Allies.

Then General Joffre, commander of the French armies, issued his famous order, stating that the retreat was over. To his generals he sent this message: "The hour has come to hold fast and to let yourselves be killed rather than to yield." And to the army Joffre issued this: "At the moment when we are about to engage in battle it is imperative that everyone should remember that the time has passed for looking backward; every effort must be devoted to attacking and repulsing the enemy. Troops that can no longer advance, must, at all cost, keep the ground they have won and be shot down where they stand rather than retreat. In the present circumstances no weakness can be tolerated."

The decisive moment had arrived. There was no faltering, but the whole French army was nerved to supreme effort. From September 5 to September 10, along a line of more than a hundred miles from Paris to Verdun, raged the famous Battle of the Marne, one of the decisive battles of the world's history. The spirit in which these men fought was typified in General Foch, one of Joffre's subordinates, who at a critical moment telegraphed to his chief: "My right is in retreat; my center is yielding. Situation excellent. I shall attack." And attack he did, with great success.

The Germans were defeated. Their terrific, crush-

ing blow, intended to eliminate the French from the war, had failed. They retired as precipitately as they had advanced, the French at their heels. Only when they were across the Aisne and in trenches already prepared for them were they safe. At the Battle of the Marne France had saved herself and Europe and the world.

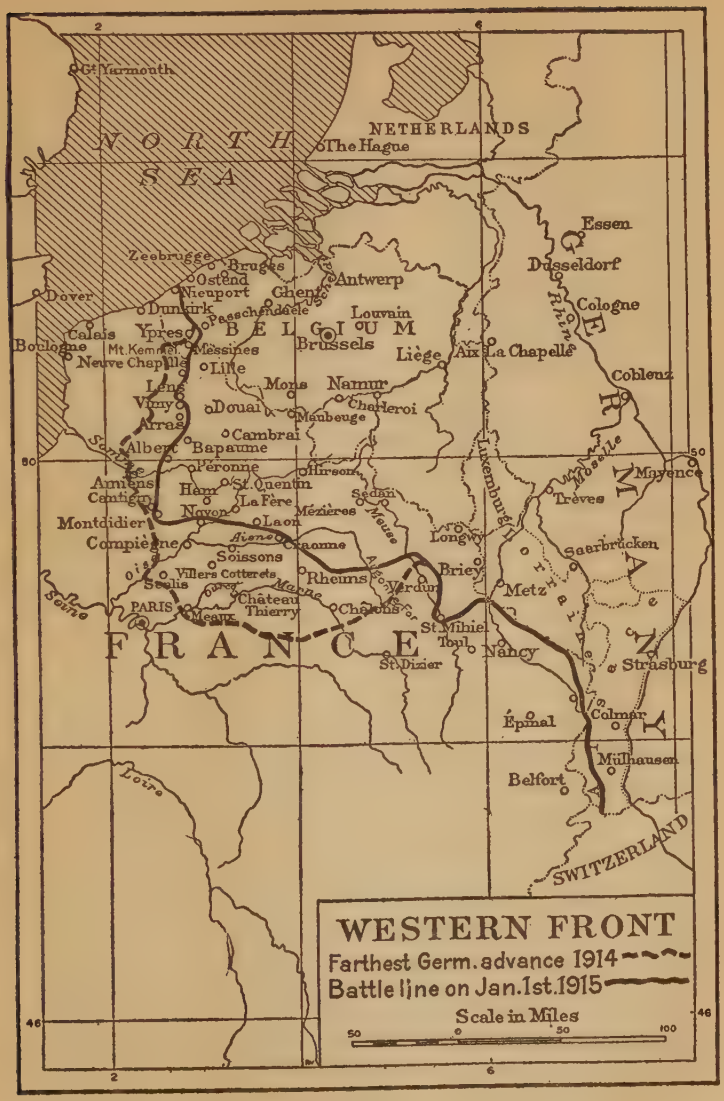
After the Battle of the Marne the Allies sought to break through the German lines along the Aisne, but were unsuccessful. Thereupon there ensued a race to the sea, an extension of the trenches northward to the English Channel. The Germans overran the western part of Belgium, seized Antwerp (October 10) and Ostend, and tried to get to Dunkirk and Calais, but were arrested at the Yser River. By the end of October the opposing sides were entrenched against each other all the way from Nieuport to Switzerland. The "war of positions," which was to last with only minor changes down to March, 1918, had begun.

As the results of all these events the Germans were in possession of a large area of northeastern France and of nearly all of Belgium. The possession of this territory greatly augmented their power to make war, for it carried with it ninety per cent of the iron ore of France, and fifty per cent of the coal of France, and the harbors of the Belgian coast became favorable bases for the submarine warfare adopted later.

The Germans had not only won great and rich territories in a two months' campaign: they had also won undying hatred and a moral loathing so general and so intense that it is hard, if not impossible,

to find its equal in human history. From the moment they stepped upon Belgian territory they trampled under foot all considerations of humanity, of decency, of honor. No savage ever tortured a helpless victim with a greater display of heartlessness and cruelty than Germany showed in her treatment of Belgium. Not only were conscienceless pillage and systematic looting the order of the day, not only were towns and cities fined and mulcted of enormous sums of money, not only were villages fired, not only were works of art and public monuments destroyed, but great numbers of civilians, men, women, and little children, were murdered in cold blood or subjected to treatment worse than death. The Germans killed prisoners, they poisoned wells, they bombarded undefended towns and hospitals. It is no wonder that Belgium's most distinguished poet and man of letters, Maurice Maeterlinck, called the German "the foulest invader that the world has ever borne." A prosperous and peaceful people was ruined, and threatened with starvation from which it was only saved by the charity of the world. The martyrdom of Belgium is the deep damnation of modern militaristic Germany. The multitudinous seas would not suffice to wash out the abysmal guilt.

Such was the course of events in western Europe after the fateful August 4, 1914. Meanwhile events were occurring in the east and the southeast. Russia, mobilizing far more rapidly than the Germans had supposed she could, invaded East Prussia about the middle of August, gaining several victories. The Germans were forced to withdraw some of their


WESTERN FRONT
Farthest Germ. advance 1914
Battle line on Jan. 1st. 1915
Scale in Miles
50 0 50 100
NORTH SEA
NETHERLANDS
The Hague
Gt. Yarmouth
Zeebrugge
Bruges
Ostend
Nieuport
Dover
Dunkirk
Ghent
Antwerp
Passchendaele
Louvain
BELGIUM
Brussels
Calais
Ypres
Boulogne
Mt. Kemmel
Messines
Neuve Chapelle
Lille
Liège
Aix La Chapelle
Essen
Dusseldorf
Cologne
Rhin
Coblenz
Lens
Vimy
Arras
Douai
Mons
Namur
Charleroi
Maubeuge
Cambrai
Albert
Bapaume
Péronne
Hirson
Amiens
Cantigny
Ham
St. Quentin
La Fère
Sedan
Mézières
Novon
Laon
Montdidier
Compiègne
Aisne
Craonne
Soissons
Villers Cotterets
Seulis
Rheims
Verdun
Briey
Longwy
Luxemburg
Mayence
Trèves
Saarbrücken
Metz
Lorraine
Marne
Château Thierry
Châlons
PARIS
Meaux
Seine
Oise
St. Mihiel
Toul
Nancy
St. Dizier
FRANCE
Strasburg
Épinal
Colmar
Mülhausen
Belfort
SWITZERLAND
Loire
GERMANY
2
6
50
46

troops from the western front to meet this unexpected menace, and this contributed to the German defeat at the Marne. The victories of the Russians were short-lived, for under the command of General von Hindenburg the Germans defeated them disastrously in the battle of Tannenberg (August 26–September 1, 1914). Hindenburg was henceforth the idol of Germany.

The Russians were more successful against Austria. Invading the Austrian province of Galicia, they captured Tarnopol and Lemberg and Jaroslav and began the siege of Przemysl, which surrendered in March, 1915. An invasion of Hungary was intended as the next step.

As Austria was thus fully occupied with Russia, the Serbians were able to expel the Austrian armies which had invaded their country (December, 1914).

Other events of those months of 1914, which must be chronicled, are: the entrance of little Montenegro into the war out of sympathy for Serbia, the Montenegrins being Serbians by race (August 7); and the entrance of Turkey into the war on the side of the Central Powers (November 3). The latter was an event of considerable importance. Though European Turkey had been greatly reduced as a result of the Balkan Wars, the Ottoman Empire was still extensive, including Asia Minor, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and Arabia, in all over seven hundred thousand square miles, or an area more than three times as large as the German Empire, and with a population estimated at twenty-one million. Its capital, Constantinople, was a city of over a mil-

lion inhabitants, and its location incomparable, lying, as it does, at the point where Europe and Asia meet, and barring the entrance to and the exit from the Black Sea, that is, from southern Russia. The Sultan ruled over a most motley collection of peoples, over Turks, a minority of the whole population, and over Arabs, Greeks, Syrians, Kurds, Circassians, Armenians, Jews, and numerous other races. The only unity that these races knew was to be found in the oppression they all experienced from their Government, which was an unrestrained tyrrany. The Government was strongly pro-German. Enver Pasha was minister of war, a man who had been a military attaché in Berlin, and had formed the most intimate relations with the German military circles. During most of his reign the Emperor of Germany had striven successfully to build up German influence in Turkey, and by 1914 Turkey was the willing and eager tool of Germany, her army largely officered by Germans. The expected therefore occurred when the Turkish Government permitted two German warships to enter the Bosporus, whence they sailed into the Black Sea and bombarded Russian ports. Russia thereupon declared war upon Turkey, November 3, 1914, and England and France immediately did the same.

Turkey's entrance into the war was intended to be, and was, a threat at the Balkan states and at the British Empire, that is at India and Egypt. It involved Asia and Africa in the war, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt. An immediate consequence was the dethronement of the Khedive of Egypt, who

was plotting with the Sultan to expel the British. Great Britain declared Egypt a protectorate of the British Empire and appointed the uncle of the dethroned Khedive in his place, with the title of Sultan. Turkish attempts to invade Egypt and get control of the Suez Canal, thus cutting England's connection with India, were frustrated early in the following year (February, 1915).

Still another power entered the war almost at the beginning, Japan (August 23, 1914). Japan had two reasons for participating. One was loyalty to her alliance with Great Britain, which, concluded originally in 1902, had been renewed in 1905 and 1911. That treaty had been of the greatest service to Japan, increasing her international prestige and guaranteeing her territorial rights. It was a defensive alliance, each side promising the other support in certain contingencies in case of war.

Such a case having arisen, England now applied to Japan for assistance in protecting her trade in the East, and Japan loyally responded. But that protection could not be secured as long as Germany held her strong naval base at Kiauchau. The Japanese knew how Germany had acquired that base, seventeen years before, after having in conjunction with Russia and France forced Japan to relinquish the fruits of her victory in her war with China. They therefore took pleasure in requiting this injury and in expressing their demand in the same language that Germany had used to them twenty years before. On August 17, 1914, an ultimatum was issued by Japan to Germany demanding that she withdraw her fleet

and surrender Kiauchau as necessary "to the peace of the Far East" and requesting an answer by August 23. Germany sent no answer to this ultimatum, but the Kaiser telegraphed to Kiauchau: "It would shame me more to surrender Kiauchau to the Japanese than Berlin to the Russians." On August 23, war was declared by Japan against Germany, and by the middle of November she had conquered the German colony. From that time on until 1918 her participation in the war was slight. She was, however, one of the Allies, having agreed with England, France, and Russia not to make a separate peace.

Meanwhile another aspect of the war was being played upon the high seas. The immense importance to the Allies of the naval preponderance of Great Britain was shown from the first days of the war and has been made each day increasingly apparent. The British won a naval victory near Helgoland in August, the Germans won a naval victory off the coast of Chili in November, which was avenged by England in a complete defeat of a German fleet off the Falkland Islands (December 8). The total result of these events was the sweeping of German naval vessels from the high seas and the bottling up of the main German fleet in the Kiel Canal; also the sweeping of German merchant shipping from the ocean. Now and then a German raider might still get out and do damage. The submarine danger was as yet not serious. Owing to Great Britain's practical control of the great water routes of communication the transport of troops to the scene of battle from England, Canada, Australia, South Africa, and the transport

of munitions and merchandise, and the exchanges of commerce, could go on, in the main, unimpeded. The importance of this fact cannot be exaggerated. It enabled the Allies vigorously to prosecute the war, and it kept industrial and commercial life active, a source not only of comfort and convenience, but of wealth, and wealth was necessary to the maintenance in full and increasing vigor of armies and navies and all the various war services.

Thus we see how crowded with decisive events were those months from August to December, 1914. The flame so lightly and joyously ignited by Austria and by Germany was spreading rapidly and portentously. By the end of that year ten nations were at war, Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Turkey on the one side, Serbia, Russia, France, Belgium, Great Britain, Montenegro, and Japan on the other. Two great nations, the United States and Italy, and many small ones, had declared their neutrality. Whether they would be able to maintain it, in a war which, as was already clear, affected every nation, not only in its economic life, but in its intellectual, moral, and spiritual outlook, remained to be seen.

The War in 1915

The year 1914 closed with the Allies holding the Germans on the western front, having defeated them at the Battle of the Marne. But the Germans had conquered all but a small section of Belgium, had conquered northeastern France, and had dug themselves in from the North Sea to Switzerland. At-

tempts on the part of the Allies to dislodge them and to break through the line were made repeatedly in 1915. At the battle of Neuve Chapelle the English under Sir John French attacked over a front of a little more than four miles. The attack was preceded by the most terrific artillery engagement ever known in warfare. On that narrow front more than three hundred British cannon opened fire on March 10. After they had prepared the way the infantry pressed forward, gaining a mile. On the two following days the Germans delivered repeated counter-attacks, but without success. The British held their new front, but the casualties were extremely heavy. A mere local dent had been made in the German line. The battle was important as showing sharply how tremendous must be the effort and the sacrifice if the Germans were to be driven out of France and Belgium. Both England and Germany lost more in killed, wounded, and captured than the English and Prussians had lost in the battle of Waterloo.

From April 22 to April 26 occurred a similar battle on a narrow front, this time begun by the Germans. Here gas was used for the first time. The French line collapsed. Those who survived the gas retreated three miles. The battle is famous for this new feature of warfare, and for the remarkable coolness, heroism, and spirit of sacrifice of the Canadians. "On the Canadians the storm broke with its full force and Canadian militia repeated the glories of British regulars from Mons to the Marne. In British imperial history the second battle of Ypres will be memorable." But it broke no line and like the battle

of Neuve Chapelle it was mere "nibbling," a word that now passed into current use to describe the character of the fighting.

All through the summer of 1915 there was only desultory fighting on the western front, broken by special attempts to break the line which would not break. One incident of importance was the relieving of Sir John French and the appointment of General Haig as commander-in-chief of the British armies. The issue was to prove that England had at last found her leader.

Other disappointments were reserved for the Allies during that bitter year of 1915. Germany's original plan of campaign had been, as we have seen, first to crush France and to eliminate her from the war, then to turn eastward and eliminate Russia, after which she would dictate whatever peace she chose to Europe. The Battle of the Marne and the solid line of the French and English from Nieuport in Belgium to Switzerland had blocked this plan. France was not easily to be eliminated. Therefore the Germans adopted a new plan, namely, to crush and eliminate Russia, then to turn westward, settle accounts with France, and bring England to her knees. Of course while attending to their eastern enemy, they must hold their western front tight, and even attack, if the opportunity offered. There must be no suspension or relaxation of effort anywhere, but the main emphasis must be put upon the eastern campaign, as it was the more inviting and promised the more immediate gains. There was an additional argument in favor of making the main effort in the east. Hin-

denburg, the new idol of Germany, from long years of study was minutely acquainted with all the natural features of that theater of war. What he had done at Tannenberg he could do again, and again, perhaps.

Therefore eastward the path of empire took its way. The developments there were destined to exceed the wildest imagination of the Germans. After Tannenberg the Russians, recovering, resumed the offensive, and again invaded East Prussia, whereupon Hindenburg fell upon them, administering a crushing defeat in the Battle of the Mazurian Lakes (February 12, 1915). The Russians lost in killed and wounded a hundred and fifty thousand and a hundred thousand of them were taken prisoners.

This was a mere beginning. East Prussia was freed from the presence of the Russians. But they had overrun Galicia, a northern province of Austria. They must be expelled, and then no foreign soldiers would stand on the soil of the Central Empires. Moreover the war should be carried straight over into Russia. The tables must be turned, and turned they were in a memorable fashion. All through the summer, from April to August, a mammoth drive of Germans and Austrians combined, under Hindenburg and Mackensen, went on over a wide front. Victory followed victory in rapid succession. The Russians were driven out of Galicia. Przemysl fell on June 2; Lemberg on June 22. Russian Poland was invaded. Warsaw, its capital, was captured on August 5. All of Poland was conquered and Lithuania and Courland were overrun. When the campaign was over the

Russian line was still intact, but it had been forced far back and now ran from Riga, in the north, to Czernowitz, in the south, near the northern border of Roumania.

It was a notable summer's work. Mackensen took his place beside Hindenburg, as a national hero. The process of Russian disintegration which two years later was to lead to the shameful Treaty of Brest-Litovsk had begun. Russia had lost 65,000 square miles of territory, a territory larger than New England. The military statistics of this war are uncertain, being subject to no control outside official circles, but it is said that Russian losses in killed and wounded were a million two hundred thousand and nearly a million in prisoners. The Russian commander, Grand Duke Nicholas, was removed from chief command and sent to the Caucasus. So much for the eastern front. As 1914 had seen the Germans seizing Belgium and northern and eastern France, 1915 had seen them seizing a large part of Russia. The Germans were entitled to the elation which they experienced and which they volubly expressed.

The Allies suffered another notable discomfiture that year, 1915, and a serious diminution of prestige, this time in the extreme southeastern point of Europe. They attempted the capture of Constantinople, the capital of the Turkish Empire, a very difficult thing to achieve owing to topographical reasons. Could they accomplish this, then the Balkan states not yet in the war would probably enter it on the side of the Allies, and with that alignment Austria could be attacked and invaded from the south and east; also

Turkey might be compelled to sue for peace or at any rate would be put on the defensive. And could the Allies control the Dardanelles and the Bosporus, they could secure a connection with Russia through the Black Sea. They could thus send to Russia the war supplies she so greatly needed and could receive from her the food supplies she produced.

In February and March a British and French fleet tried to force the Dardanelles. Penetrating the channel as far as the "Narrows," they could get no farther. The shores were powerfully fortified, and in the battle between the forts and the ships of war, several of the latter were destroyed. The fleet was forced to withdraw. Constantinople could not be reached that way. Next an attempt was made by land. After a costly delay Anglo-French troops, reinforced by troops from Australia and New Zealand, called "Anzacs,"[1] who had been brought up by way of the Red Sea, landed on the peninsula of Gallipoli, Sir Ian Hamilton in command. But the Turks had had their warning and, under the command of a German general, Liman von Sanders, were ready for them. The landing was effected only at a heavy cost and the positions which the Allies confronted proved impregnable. A flanking movement from Suvla Bay likewise proved unsuccessful. The Allies held on all through the year, but they were foiled, and in December they abandoned the attempt. Their losses had been enormous and nothing had been accomplished, save that possibly the expedition had kept

[1] A composite word made by the initial letters of the words Australian New Zealand Army Corps.

the Turks from pressing any attack upon the Suez Canal. The reaction of this conspicuous and complete failure upon the hesitating Balkan states, Bulgaria and Greece, was disastrous. They, hitherto neutral, began to think that the Central Powers would ultimately be victorious and that it would be more prudent as well as pleasanter to be on the winning side.

Bulgaria's dislike of Serbia, Roumania, and Greece was intense; she resented bitterly the Treaty of Bucharest [1] and only awaited a favorable opportunity to tear it up. With the Russians retreating week after week and month after month before the terrific onslaughts of Hindenburg and Mackensen, with the Turks and Germans blocking the straits of the Dardanelles and holding the British tightly to the coasts of Gallipoli, it seemed evident to Czar Ferdinand and to his minister Radoslavoff that the Germans were the predestined victors in this gigantic war. Therefore, after a disreputable display of double-dealing, they enlisted Bulgaria on the side of the Central Powers (October 4, 1915). This action of Bulgaria had two immediate consequences. It linked the Central Powers with Turkey, completing the "corridor" to the East, to Asia. And it sounded the doom of Serbia.

Serbia had been the unwilling pretext of a war which had so soon broken all bounds, dragging the world with it toward the abyss. Austria's ultimatum to Serbia had been the signal for the general mêlée. Austrian armies had immediately invaded Serbia and

[1] See pp. 313-314.

had seized Belgrade, though only after having encountered a stubborn resistance, during which the Serbians had at one moment won a brilliant victory (August 20, 1914, and succeeding days), the first general battle on a European front. The Serbians, aided by the Montengrins, fought desperately against the Austrian invasion, and by the middle of December their victory was complete. Belgrade was reoccupied on December 15. The Austrians retreated precipitately out of the land for which they had had such lordly contempt. Their retirement was a rout. Serbia even invaded Austria. A Serbian author may be pardoned for writing: "In ten days the Serbian victory over five Austrian army corps was complete. Since the days when Scipio saved Rome from Hannibal, or when England destroyed the might of Spain, the world has never seen such a spectacle, and never has victory been more deserved." General Misitch was the hero of the Serbian hour.

Such was the first chapter of Serbian history in the Great War. The second was very different. The Germans and Austrians, fresh from their successes in Russia and Galicia, invaded Serbia in great strength in October, 1915, under General von Mackensen. At the same time the Bulgarians invaded her from the east. For two months the Serbians fought single-handed and with unquenchable valor against the overwhelming forces of Germany, Austria, and Bulgaria, left in the lurch, moreover, by their ally Greece, which was by treaty bound to aid them in a contingency like this. Serbia was completely conquered and crushed. A remnant only of her armies was able

to reach safety on the coast of Albania, whence it was transported in Allied vessels to the island of Corfu. It is difficult to find words adequately to characterize the awful retreat across the barren Albanian mountains, the unspeakable hardships endured. The war exacted another martyrdom. The Austro-Germans followed up their conquest by overrunning Montenegro (January, 1916).

Simultaneously with this conquest and extinction of Serbia another train of events was being started, whose full significance was not to be made manifest until two more eventful and discouraging years had passed. In October, 1915, an Anglo-French force landed at Salonica, the leading port of Greece. It had come to aid Serbia in response to an invitation from the prime minister of Greece, Venizelos. Constantine, the King of Greece and a brother-in-law of the German Emperor, did not propose to aid Serbia, although by treaty bound to do so. He now dismissed Venizelos and began a tortuous pro-German policy which was ultimately to cost him his throne.

This Anglo-French army marched northward to help the Serbians, but was unsuccessful and had to withdraw behind the lines of Salonica. But out of the union of this force, subsequently greatly enlarged, with the reorganized and reinvigorated remnant of the Serbian army which had found refuge in the island of Corfu, was to emerge in time salvation for the stricken land.

While the situation had, during the year, grown worse for the Allies in the east and in the Balkans, there had been a distinct and a promising gain for

them in another quarter. Italy had entered the war on their side. For over thirty years Italy had been a member of the Triple Alliance, concluded, in 1882, with Germany and Austria-Hungary. That alliance she had renewed as late as 1912 and that renewal was to run until 1920. But when the war broke out in 1914 and when Italy was asked by her allies to coöperate with them, she declined on the ground that she was obliged to aid them only if they were attacked. Instead of being attacked they had themselves begun the war. Italy therefore adopted a policy of neutrality, which she maintained until May 23, 1915. Then, at the moment when the Russians were in full retreat, she entered the war on the side of the Western powers. This was the great gain of the year for the Allies and one that bade fair to redress the balance of power in their favor.

The Italian Government, in acting thus, was but responding to a widespread popular demand. Ever since the Kingdom of Italy had been formed in the decade between 1859 and 1870 the Italians had been restless under the thought that their unification had been incomplete, that outside the boundaries of the state as determined at that time there were hundreds of thousands of Italians still subject to Austria, in the Trentino to the north, and in Trieste and the peninsula of Istria to the northeast. This was Italia Irredenta or Unredeemed Italy. This territory the Italian Government now endeavored to acquire, at first peacefully through direct negotiations with Austria-Hungary, then, that method failing, through war. Another motive also influenced the Govern-

ment, the insistent popular demand that Italy do her share in the work of the defense of civilization against *Kultur,* of democracy and liberty against autocracy and despotism. The strong instinct of the Italian people was that they belonged with the Allies by reason of the principles they held in common with them. Their action in entering the war was naturally greeted with enthusiasm in France and England, and with deep resentment in Germany and Austria.

The intervention of Italy was followed shortly by that of the little independent republic of San Marino, a state which claims to be the oldest in Europe and which is located on a spur of the Apennines, entirely surrounded by Italy, and which has a population of about twelve thousand. San Marino is the sole survivor of those city-republics which were so numerous in Italy during the Middle Ages. She declared war upon the Central Powers, June 3, 1915.

Another Allied gain during 1914 and 1915 was the conquest of the German colonies. Japan seized Kiauchau, as we have seen, soon after her entrance into the war. In Africa, British and French troops easily overran Togoland and Kamerun. German Southwest Africa was conquered by South African troops under General Smuts, though the conquest was not completed until early in 1917. A campaign against German East Africa was begun early and resulted in soon freeing that colony of most of the German troops, some of whom, however, remained untracked and undefeated, apparently, until the end of the war. In the main the vast German colonial empire had shrunk to very small proportions by the close of 1915.

In the same year, 1915, occurred an event which shocked the world by its wanton and cowardly barbarity and which was in time to have far-reaching consequences, the sinking, on May 7, of the mammoth Atlantic liner, the *Lusitania,* off the coast of Ireland. This incident may best be described later. It should, however, be included in this untoward list of events which darkened the year 1915.

The War in 1916

We have seen that Germany's original plan of war was to crush France first and then to turn against Russia and force her to her knees. This plan had been attempted in 1914, but had not succeeded. France had not been crushed, but had, in the famous Battle of the Marne, defeated the Germans, driving them precipitately back to the Aisne, had preserved her own field army intact, had saved Paris and the most important fortresses of France, Verdun, Belfort, Toul, and Épinal. Unconquered and undaunted, France was all through 1915 and in 1916 the hope and the mainstay of the world, the flaming and resolute soul of the Allied cause. After a year and a half of war Russia had, however, been badly defeated and had given many signs of that weakness and disintegration that were later to develop so rapidly and appallingly. England was not yet fully conscious of the part she must play; she had not yet brought herself to adopt universal military service although she had accomplished wonders in volunteering. Italy had done little to justify the great hopes with which the Allies

had greeted her entrance into the war. Belgium had been virtually wiped off the map; so had Serbia, Montenegro, and Albania; all had been overrun by the armies of the Central Powers and were securely held. France, however, stood defiant and resolute, tense, straining every nerve, steeled for every contingency.

But France had suffered terribly and the German military authorities believed it was possible to do, in 1916, what they had failed to accomplish in 1914. This is the meaning of Verdun. The German General Staff thought that, by delivering one terrific, irresistible, deadly blow against the French army, they could smash it. Then peace would be in sight, as France would recognize the hopelessness of further struggle, the sheer impossibility of ever recovering Alsace-Lorraine. Verdun was a strong position, but, once taken, no equally stout defense could be made between there and Paris. The capital would fall and the fall of Paris would certainly mean the elimination of France. Incidentally, as the German Crown Prince was in command near Verdun, blinding military glory would irradiate the person of the heir to the Prussian throne. Could anything be more desirable or more appropriate?

On February 21, 1916, at 7.15 in the morning, the storm broke upon Verdun, a place long famous in the military annals of France, but destined now to win a glory beyond compare. Never had there been so pulverizing an artillery fire as that which inaugurated this attack. The Germans had made enormous preparations, had enormous armies and sup-

plies. It seemed humanly impossible to prevent them from blasting their way through. But the impossible was done. The French disputed every inch of ground with incredible coolness and inexhaustible bravery. Nevertheless they lost position after position, and in four days of frenzied fighting were driven back four miles. Then French reinforcements arrived, hurried thither by thousands of motors. And one of Joffre's most brilliant subordinates, Pétain, reached the scene and infused new energy into the army of defense. Superb and spirit-stirring was Pétain's cry to his soldiers: "Courage, comrades! We'll get them."

It is impossible to summarize this battle, for it raged for many months, from February to October, and was characterized by a multitude of incidents. The fighting back and forth for critical positions continued week after week and month after month. Douaumont and Vaux are the names of two subsidiary forts which stand forth most conspicuously in the murderous welter of repeated attack and counter-attack, of thrust and counter-thrust. The Germans were resolved to take Verdun, cost what it might. They were ready to pay the price, but victory they would have. They paid the price, in irreparable losses, but victory they did not win. The French stiffened, under Pétain and later under Nivelle, and with the electrifying cry: "*Ils ne passeront pas!*" ("They shall not pass!") they baffled the fury of the enemy and at the end pitched him out of most of the positions he had won. Verdun did not fall. The military reputations of Pétain and Nivelle had grown enormously and the latter soon succeeded Joffre as commander-

in-chief. The Crown Prince did not emerge from this enterprise irradiated with the blinding effulgence of glory. His experiences were, however, calculated to make him a wiser if not a better man.

The course and outcome of the later phases of the Verdun campaign were affected by another campaign which was being carried on simultaneously on another sector of the long line that ran from Belgium through France to Switzerland. This was the Battle of the Somme. This was an Anglo-French attack, stretching from Arras to some distance south of the Somme River, the English under General Haig, the French under Foch, the Germans under Hindenburg, who had been transferred to the west after his great successes in the east. England was now striking a new pace, which she was to continue and to increase, in participation in the war on land. In 1914 she had had only a small regular army of a hundred thousand men. This was rapidly increased by volunteering, which achieved notable proportions, but not notable enough. Finally in January, 1916, she had adopted conscription for single men, and, in May, for married men as well. Thus she now had universal service for all between the ages of 18 and 41. She was training the new recruits hastily and was increasing her munition supplies enormously. She had taken over more and more of the line until she was now manning about ninety miles from the sea to the Somme.

The people of the Allied countries expected that their armies, thus enlarged and elaborately equipped, would attempt to break through the German lines. The Battle of the Somme was an endeavor to bring

to an end the long deadlock on the western front. After a terrific bombardment, which had by this time become the customary prelude to an offensive, the general assault was begun on July 1. For a few days the Allies made progress, though on the whole very slowly. The railroad centers, Bapaume and Péronne, were their objectives. The German line stiffened and fiercely counter-attacked. The battle dragged and the rainy season set in, making it almost impossible to move the heavy guns over the muddy roads. While both the English and the French took a number of towns and considerable bodies of prisoners, they were unable to attain their objectives. All through the summer and well into the fall the desperate struggle went on, dying down in October. The total area won by the Allies was small, about 120 square miles. Nowhere had they advanced more than seven miles from their starting point. Nevertheless Haig was right when he announced that the campaign had been a success for three reasons, namely, because it had relieved Verdun; because, by holding large masses of Germans on the western front, it had enabled Russia to win a considerable victory on the eastern front; and because it had worn down the German strength. It was in the second phase of this Battle of the Somme that a new and redoubtable engine of war was introduced by the British, powerful armored cars, quickly nicknamed " tanks," which could cross trenches, break through barbed-wire entanglements, and at the same time could scatter a murderous fire all about from the guns within. Machine-gun fire against them was entirely ineffectual. Only when squarely hit by pow-

erful missiles from big cannon were the tanks disabled.

There was also serious fighting during 1916 on the Italian and Russian fronts. The Austrians, believing that the Russians had learned their lesson in the previous year and that they would think twice before again assuming the offensive, left their eastern front lightly guarded and prepared to punish the Italians, their historic enemy, and now more hated than ever because of their "treachery" in breaking the Triple Alliance. In May the Austrians began an attack from the Tyrol. Controlling the passes of the Alps, they were able to form a large army and to threaten Verona and Vicenza. The Italians resisted desperately, but lost a large number of guns and men. They also lost about two hundred and thirty square miles of Italian territory. But the Austrians had weakened their eastern front so seriously that the Russians were winning great victories over them in that theater. This in turn reacted upon the Italian campaign by forcing the Austrians to recall many troops in order to ward off the new danger. Therefore, they were obliged to forego for the time being their dream of breaking into the plains of Venetia.

While the Russians had been forced by Hindenburg and Mackensen to make a great retreat in 1915, they had not been put out of the war and, in June, 1916, they began, under Brusiloff, a new offensive, this time between the Pripet Marshes and the Austrian province of Bukowina. Brusiloff's drive was for a while successful and netted far larger territorial gains than were made on the western front in the

Battle of the Somme. Brusiloff was able to push the Austrians back from twenty to fifty miles, to take a large number of prisoners, and to capture many towns and cities, including the important ones of Lutsk and Czernowitz. The campaign lasted from June to October, but after the first month no great progress was made and the offensive gradually wore down and stopped. Russia was far from having recovered what she had lost in the previous year. Indeed, she recovered practically nothing in the north from the Pripet Marshes to the Baltic Sea.

The interplay of these various campaigns was unmistakable. The Somme helped Verdun, the Russian drive helped Italy by freeing her of the Austrians and by enabling her to begin an offensive along the Isonzo which yielded Gorizia on August 9 and brought her to within thirteen miles of coveted Trieste. But while there was this interplay, this relieving of pressure in one region by bringing pressure to bear in another, the team-work was most imperfect. The desirability of a unified command of all the Allied forces had hardly begun to dawn. It took the experiences of another year and more to drive that idea into the minds of the governing authorities of the various countries concerned.

The unhappy consequences of the lack of proper coördination in a common cause were conspicuously shown in another field in this same year of 1916, namely, in Roumania. Roumania entered the war on the side of the Allies on August 27, 1916. Her chief motive was to assure "the realization of her national unity," by which phrase was meant the liberation

from Austria-Hungary of the three million Roumanians who lived in the eastern section of the Dual Monarchy, in Transylvania, and their incorporation in the Kingdom of Roumania. The principle of nationality was at the basis of Roumania's action, the principle that kindred peoples desiring to be united should be united. Roumania's declaration of war was naturally warmly applauded by the Allies. It was followed immediately by a Roumanian invasion of Transylvania, which achieved very considerable successes.

But the Germans were resolved to prevent this threatened mutilation of their ally and also this threatened cutting of the connection between the Central Powers and Turkey. Roumanian success, if unimpeded, would widen out into the Balkans and imperil the famous "corridor" through Bulgaria and Serbia. The German General Staff determined, therefore, to strike with all the force at its command, to deal a blow that should be both swift and memorable. Two large armies composed of Germans, Austro-Hungarians, Bulgarians, and Turks, and under the command of Falkenhayn and Mackensen, were sent against Roumania. They conquered the southern part of the kingdom with comparative ease and entered Bucharest, the capital, on December 6. What was left of the Roumanian army withdrew to the north. Jassy became the provisional seat of Roumanian government. Peace was not concluded until much later, but meanwhile the Central Powers controlled most of the territory of Roumania, and exploited its rich resources in wheat and oil. The corridor to Constantinople was

widened rather than cut. From this time forth the German ambition to create a Middle Europe, dominated by Germany, became more and more pronounced and more and more insistent.

The Roumanian disaster was due to the immense superiority of German resources, equipment, and generalship; also to the mistakes of Roumania. One of these mistakes was the lateness of her decision to enter the war. None of the Allies was in a position to help her, except Russia. Had Roumania declared war in June at the moment of Brusiloff's great victories, the outcome might have been very different. As it was she declared it when Brusiloff's drive had been brought to a standstill. This was but one more proof of the fact that the Allies must bring about a closer adjustment of their efforts, if they were to win.

One more state entered the European War in 1916, Portugal. On February 23, Portugal seized the German ships in her harbors, claiming that the shortage of tonnage created by Germany's submarine campaign justified the action. Whereupon Germany declared war upon her, March 9. A few days later it was officially announced by the Portuguese minister to the United States that "Portugal is drawn into the war as a result of her long-standing alliance with England, an alliance that has withstood unbroken the strain of five hundred years." This, it is curious to note, is a reference to a treaty signed in London on June 16, 1373, by which each country pledged itself to assist the other in case of war, a treaty as legitimate as that of the Triple Alliance, much more venerable, and far less injurious to the welfare of

Europe. During all these centuries the Anglo-Portuguese Alliance has continued, frequently reaffirmed, the friendship it was designed to bring about still exists, the treaty concluded in 1373 has been broken by neither party and is still considered in force. Portugal participated in the war by sending an army to France and by aiding England in Africa.

The year 1916 witnessed also a great naval engagement between England and Germany, the Battle of Jutland. England had given since the outbreak of the war remarkable evidence of her might upon the ocean. The mobilization of her fleet in the opening days was quite as noteworthy in its way as the mobilization of the German army, and as the latter entered forthwith upon a career of victory, so also did the former. The pressure of the British navy began at once to be felt where it was intended it should be, in Germany. A blockade of the German coast was established at the very outset, which was destined to be made steadily more effective. Germany's merchant shipping was swept from the ocean, the vast fabric of her sea-borne commerce collapsed. The British fleet prevented Germany from importing such essentials as foodstuffs, petroleum, cotton, coffee, rubber, zinc, tin, so necessary in the work of war. The blockade was not perfect, as now and then a German raider could get through—sure, however, in the end, to be hunted down. But the attention of the world, the attention even of England herself, was not riveted upon this incessant naval war as it was upon the military operations on land. One reason for this was that the naval war was silent and unseen, although

its effects were most important. Another was that the war on land was bitterly contested and gave rise to numberless incidents, was a tense, critical and doubtful struggle, while the war on the sea was, generally speaking, devoid of incident. England's command of her element was never in doubt, and was even challenged only infrequently. Submarines could and did do occasional damage, even in one instance sinking three English war vessels, and there had been two or three sea fights between small fractions of the fleets, Germany winning a victory in the early days off Chili, England a far more significant one subsequently off the Falkland Islands. These events were, however, of minor importance. But the main German fleet stuck tightly to its base, the harbor of Kiel, and the unremitting, perpetual stress of the blockade offered no sensations to a world which was surfeited with them as a result of the land warfare.

But on May 31, 1916, the German High Seas fleet, commanded by Admiral von Scheer, steamed forth, and skirted up the western coast of Denmark. Sighted by the British scouts under Admiral Beatty, about 3.30 in the afternoon, an engagement immediately began, the main British squadron, under Admiral Jellicoe, coming up only later. The battle continued for several hours, until darkness came on, between eight and nine. It was the greatest naval battle since Trafalgar and, in the strength and power of the units engaged, undoubtedly the greatest in all history. The result was inconclusive. Both sides lost important ships, but both claimed to be victorious. That the real victor, however, was England was

proved by the fact that the German fleet was obliged to return to Kiel and did not again emerge from that refuge. Britannia still ruled the wave, and it was extremely fortunate for the safety of democracy in England, France, Italy, and the United States, and for liberty everywhere, that she did.

Had England rendered no other service than this of making the seas safe for freedom and dangerous for despotism, the debt of humanity to her would be incalculable. But she was doing far more than this. The utterances of her statesmen, like those of France, from the first of August, 1914, defined the issues at stake, and set forth adequately the appalling gravity of the crisis. Not only were those utterances profoundly educative, but they were veritable trumpet blasts, summoning to action, action, action, in the interest of all that men in western Europe and in America had long held most precious. In the darkest hours, and there were many such during those first three years, there was no faltering in high places, no talk of compromise of right with wrong, no weakening of resolution, no abatement of demand that this world be made safe for civilized men. It must never be forgotten that the leaders of France and England, and the nations they represented, were constant and valorous defenders of the New World, as of the Old, that it was their heroism and their immeasurable spirit of sacrifice that barred the way of a vulgar and conscienceless tyrant toward universal domination. Never did men die in a holier cause. And they died in enormous numbers, literally by the million.

Entrance of the United States into the War

In such a contest as that the United States belonged, body and soul. If she was to preserve a shred of self-respect, if she was to maintain inviolate the honor of the American name, if she was to safeguard the elementary rights of American citizens, if she was bound in any sense to be her brother's helper in the defense of freedom in the world, then she must take her stand shoulder to shoulder with the hosts of freemen in Europe who were giving and had long been giving the last full measure of devotion to that cause, then she must spend her manhood and her wealth freely and without complaint, as France and England and Belgium and Serbia had done.

From very early in the war there were Americans who endeavored to arouse their country to a sense of its danger and its duty, to persuade it to prepare, to fire it with the resolve to keep the nation's 'scutcheon clean. Among those who, by their quick and intelligent appreciation of the situation, by their courage and activity, rendered invaluable service in the campaign of national education were Ex-President Roosevelt and General Leonard Wood.

From August, 1914, to April, 1917, America passed through a painful, humiliating, and dangerous experience. Her declaration of war was the expression of the wisdom she distilled from that experience. Her entrance into the war was the most important event of the year 1917, though not immediately the most important, for the collapse of Russia, occurring also

in that year, had a quicker and more direct bearing upon the military situation. But in the end, if America kept the faith, she could tip the scales decisively.

We entered the war, finally, because Germany forced us in, because she rendered it absolutely impossible for us to stay out unless we were the most craven and pigeon-hearted people on the earth. Anyone who counted on that being the case was entertaining a notion for which he could certainly cite no evidence in our previous history.

How did Germany force us into this war? What specific things did she do that could be answered in the end in one way and one way only?

The record is a long one, of offenses to the moral, the intellectual, the spiritual, the material interests of America. First, the wanton attack upon Serbia, a small state, by two bullies, Austria and Germany, and the flouting of all suggestions of arbitration or attempts to settle international difficulties peacefully, methods in which America believed, as had been shown by her own repeated use of them, and by her enthusiastic support of the efforts of the two Hague Conferences to perfect those methods and to win general adhesion to them. Second, the invasion of Belgium and the martyrdom of that country, amid nameless indignities and inhumanities. The indignation of America was spontaneous, widespread, and intense, nor has it shown any tendency to abate from that day to this. The sentiment of horror, thus needlessly aroused, coupled with admiration for the brave resistance of the Belgians and sympathy for their suf-

ferings, contributed powerfully to the creation of that state of mind which finally gained expression on April 6, 1917.

But the conquest and the inhuman treatment of Belgium was no direct infringement of our rights. The national indignation was profoundly stirred, the national sympathy aroused, but neither the sovereignty of the Government nor the persons or property of the citizens of the United States were affected. These were, however, not long to remain immune from attack. German and Austrian officials, accredited to our Government and enjoying the hospitality of our country, proceeded to use their positions here for the purpose of damaging Germany's enemies. They fomented strikes among American munition workers and seamen; they caused bombs to be placed on ships carrying munitions of war; they plotted incendiary fires, and conspired to bring about the destruction of ships and factories. In 1915 the ambassador of Austria-Hungary, Dumba, and the German military and naval attachés, Papen and Boy-Ed, were caught in such activities, and were forced to leave the country. Under the supervision of Papen a regular office was maintained to procure fraudulent passports, by lying and by forgery, for German reservists. American territory was used as a base of supplies, and military enterprises against Canada and against India were hatched by Germans on American soil. These German plots were in gross defiance of our position as a neutral and of our sovereignty as an independent nation. The German Embassy in Washington was a nest of scoundrels, plotting arson, and

murder also, since the incendiary fires and explosions cost many innocent lives.

While the diplomatic representatives of Germany were engaged in plotting criminal enterprises against Americans at home, the German Government itself had embarked upon a course of procedure that inevitably ended in the destruction of American lives and property on the high seas. In February, 1915, Germany proclaimed the waters around the British Isles "a war zone" and announced that enemy ships found within that zone would be sunk without warning. Neutrals were expected to keep their ships and citizens out of this area. If they did not, the responsibility for what might happen would be theirs, not Germany's.

Such was the announcement of Germany's submarine policy, a policy that was to have more momentous consequences than its authors imagined. A submarine is a war vessel and as such has a perfect right to attack an enemy war vessel without warning and sink her if she can. But neither a submarine nor any other war vessel has any right, under international law, to sink a merchantman belonging to the enemy or belonging to a neutral, except under certain conditions, and one of the conditions is that the persons on board, crew and passengers, shall be removed to the ship attacking or their lives otherwise absolutely safeguarded.

President Wilson, six days after the German proclamation, dispatched a note to Germany announcing that the United States would hold the German Government to "a strict accountability" should any

American ships be sunk or American lives lost, and that the United States would take all steps necessary "to safeguard American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas."

To this the German Government replied that neutral vessels entering the war zone "will themselves bear the responsibility for any unfortunate accidents that may occur. Germany disclaims all responsibility for such accidents and their consequences." This was a clear announcement that not only did she propose to sink enemy merchantmen, but neutral merchantmen as well, were they found within the prohibited zone, without removing the passengers to safety or even giving them the warning necessary to enable them to take to the lifeboats, which, on the high seas, would themselves not be places of safety, but which at least might perhaps give some chance for life.

On March 28, a British steamer, the *Falaba,* was torpedoed and one American was drowned. On May 1, an American ship, the *Gulflight,* was torpedoed without warning. The vessel managed to remain afloat and was later towed into port, but the captain died of heart failure caused by the shock, and two of the crew who jumped overboard were drowned. The Government of the United States began at once to investigate the case, as here apparently were all the elements calling for strict accountability. But before the investigation was completed, indeed before a week had passed, the case was overshadowed by another, the sinking of the *Lusitania.*

Germany's ruthless submarine campaign, in force since February, had resulted by the first of May in the sinking of over sixty merchant ships in the war zone, several of them belonging to neutral nations, with a loss of about two hundred and fifty lives, all of them the lives of non-combatants. Germany had deliberately adopted a policy that involved the killing of as many non-combatants, hitherto protected by international law and the usages of warfare among civilized nations, as might be necessary to enable her to achieve her ends. What she had done on land to hundreds and thousands of peaceful, unarmed, non-fighting people in Belgium and France she was now ready and resolved to do on the sea. But while she was torpedoing many vessels, yet England's commerce went on as before, thousands of ships entering and clearing British ports, and Great Britain was transporting an army to France without the loss of a single man. As the German people had been told that the submarines would quickly bring England to her knees and as they were not doing so, something spectacular and sensational must be achieved to justify the promises and expectations, and to silence criticism or discouragement at home. Consequently, the largest trans-Atlantic British liner still in service was selected for destruction. The world, it was believed, would then take notice and people would think twice before entering the war zone. On May 7, the *Lusitania* was torpedoed twice without warning and sank in less than twenty minutes. Nearly twelve hundred men, women, and children were drowned, among them over a hundred Americans. This cold-blooded, deliberate

murder of innocent non-combatants was the most brilliant achievement of Germany's submarine campaign and was celebrated with enthusiasm in Germany as a great "victory." The rest of the world regarded it as both barbarous and cowardly. The indignation of Americans at this murder of Americans was universal and intense. When, three years later, American soldiers in France went over the top, in the campaign of 1918, shouting "*Lusitania!*" at their foes, they were but expressing the deep-seated indignation of an outraged people, an indignation and resentment which time had done nothing to assuage.

On May 13, President Wilson dispatched a message to Germany denouncing this act as a gross violation of international law, demanding that Germany disavow it and make reparation as "far as reparation is possible," and declaring that the Government of the United States would not "omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment."

Germany replied on May 28, evading the main issues of the American note and making many assertions that were quickly proved to be lies. A correspondence ensued between the two Governments, in which the President repeated his demand for disavowal and all possible reparation. In the end Germany offered to pay for the lives lost, but refused to admit that the sinking of the ship was illegal. No agreement was reached between the two nations. No action, however, was taken.

All through 1915, torpedoing of vessels continued, and several Americans were drowned. The Government steadily asserted our rights, the German Government evading the fundamental principles involved, trying to confuse the issue by raising irrelevant points.

On March 24, 1916, occurred another major event in this campaign of indiscriminate murder of innocent non-combatants, namely, the torpedoing without warning of an English ship, the *Sussex*, while crossing the English Channel. Two Americans were injured and about seventy others, who were on board, were endangered. President Wilson again protested and declared the United States could "have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether," unless the German Government "should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels." Finally, on May 4, Germany agreed that henceforth merchant vessels should not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives, unless these ships should attempt to escape or offer resistance. But she appended a condition, namely, that the United States should compel Great Britain to observe international law. If the United States should not succeed, then Germany "must reserve to itself complete liberty of decision."

President Wilson accepted the promise and repudiated the condition on the ground that our plain rights could not be made contingent by Germany upon what any other power should or should not do. To this note Germany sent no reply.

That the promise was entirely insincere, that it was the intention to keep it only as long as it should be convenient, that ruthless submarine warfare was to be resumed whenever it seemed likely to be successful, was admitted later by the German Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg. Sinkings continued to occur from time to time throughout 1916, and finally, on January 31, 1917, the mask of hypocrisy and duplicity was thrown aside and a policy of unrestricted and ruthless submarine warfare was proclaimed. Germany announced that beginning the next day, February 1, she would prevent "in a zone around Great Britain, France, and Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean, all navigation, that of neutrals included. . . . All ships met within that zone will be sunk." The insulting concession was made that one American passenger ship per week might go to England, if it were first painted in stripes, the breadth of which was indicated, and if it carefully followed a route laid down by Germany. "Give us two months of this kind of warfare," said the German foreign secretary, Zimmermann, to Ambassador Gerard, on January 31, "and we shall end the war and make peace within three months."

There was only one answer possible to such a note as this, unless the people of the United States were willing to hold their rights and liberties subject to the pleasure and interest of Germany. On February 3 the President severed diplomatic relations with Germany, recalled our ambassador, and dismissed von Bernstorff. Toward the end of the month Secretary Lansing made public an intercepted dispatch from the

German foreign secretary, Zimmermann, to the German minister to Mexico, instructing him to propose an alliance with Mexico and Japan and war upon the United States, Mexico's reward to be the acquisition of the states of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. In other words the United States was to be dismembered.

When, on April 2, 1917, President Wilson appeared before Congress and in an address, which was a scathing arraignment of Germany before the world, recommended a declaration of war against this "natural foe to liberty" he had a predestined and enthusiastic response, for he was but expressing the wishes of the American people, who did not intend to have war made upon them indefinitely without their hitting back at the aggressor with all the force at their command, and who were resolved to share in the enterprise of saving the world from Prussian domination, or, in the words of the President, "to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world, as against selfish and autocratic power" and "to make the world safe for democracy." On April 6, Congress passed a resolution to the effect "that the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared," and it shortly proceeded to pass a series of important military, financial, and economic measures designed to enable the country to play a worthy part in the great struggle. The United States did not declare war upon Austria-Hungary until December 7, nor did it then or later declare war upon Bulgaria and Turkey.

With the two latter diplomatic relations only were broken.

Thus a war, begun with incredible lightness of heart by Austria-Hungary and Germany upon the banks of the Danube, had expanded until it included not only most of Europe, but Asia and Africa, and now all of North America. Canada had been in the war since its beginning and had greatly distinguished herself on many fields. Now came the United States, unprepared, save for her navy, which at once began to prove its mettle and its value to our allies, but potentially an immense addition to the fighting ranks, should its enormous and varied resources be developed and properly applied. The entrance of the United States into the war was followed by the entrance of the republics of Cuba and Panama on the following day (April 7). In June, 1917, King Constantine of Greece was deposed and Greece joined the Allies July 2. Siam declared war on Germany July 22, Liberia on August 4, China on August 14, Brazil on October 26, and in the same year several Central and South American states broke off diplomatic relations with Germany.

Of more immediate and direct influence upon the course of the war than this intervention of the United States, which could only make itself greatly felt after a period of preparation, was a series of far-reaching and startling occurrences in another quarter.

Revolution in Russia

The most important event of 1917 was the collapse of Russia and its withdrawal from the war. This

meant an enormous increase of Germany's power and at the same time imposed a new and mighty burden upon the Allies, a burden which threatened to be too great for them to bear.

Russia had been badly defeated by Hindenburg in 1915, and Brusiloff's campaign of 1916, after important initial successes, had been brought to a standstill. The result of these events was to arouse criticism of the Government. The belief spread that the old familiar "dark forces" were in control once more, that they were using the distresses of the nation for their individual advantage, that the court was pro-German, that the Czar was meditating a separate peace with Germany. Charges of incompetence and dishonesty were made against certain officials. The leading members of the Duma demanded that a responsible ministry be created, a demand supported by the army and the people, and that radical changes be made in the Government in the direction of greater efficiency, such as were being made in France and England. In February 100,000 workingmen went on strike in Petrograd, and 25,000 in Moscow. An acute food crisis developed and lawless raids on bakeries occurred. When ordered to fire on the mobs some of the soldiers refused to do so, an ominous sign. On March 11 the Czar dissolved the Duma, wishing to get rid of it. But the Duma refused to dissolve. A revolution was in full swing. There was considerable street fighting, the police being the particular objects of popular wrath. Revolutionary bands captured some important buildings and seized the prime minister Golitzin, and a former prime minister Stürmer,

FINLAND
RUSSIA
Petrograd
Riga
Mitau
Jacobstadt
Dvinsk
Memel
Tilsit
Kovno
Vilna
Minsk
Königsberg
Danzig
Gumbinnen
Suwalki
Allenstein
Augustowo
Grodno
Berlin
GERMANY
Mlawa
Nov-Georgievsk
Warsaw
Brest-Litovsk
Pinsk
POLAND
Kalisch
Lodz
Ivangorod
Lublin
Chelm
Kovel
Lutsk
Dubno
Kiev
Tarnowitz
Cracow
Tarnow
Przemysl
Lemberg
Tarnopol
Halics
Vienna
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
Budapest
Debreczin
Czernowitz
Jassy
Kishinef
Odessa
Groswardein
Transylvania
Hermannstadt
Trieste
Galatz
Danube
Belgrade
Bucharest
RUMANIA
SERVIA
BULGARIA
MONTENEGRO
ALBANIA
ITALY
EASTERN FRONT
Aug 1915 Dec. 1917
Russian advance into East Pr. 1914
" " Galicia 1916
Scale in Miles
0 100 200

under suspicion as being involved in pro-German intrigues. The Duma now effected a *coup d'état,* voting to establish a Provisional Government. The Czar was informed of this change and required to abdicate. This he did on March 15. Thus ended the reign of Nicholas II, the last of the Romanoffs, a family which had ruled in Russia for three hundred years and more.

The Provisional Government was a coalition representing the three different parties which had had most to do with bringing about this surprising change. Prince Lvoff, the head of the ministry, represented the business men and landowners of a liberal type, Paul Milyukoff, minister of foreign affairs, long associated with Russian reform movements, represented the Constitutional Democratic party, and Kerensky represented the third group, namely, the soldiers and workingmen. Kerensky was a Revolutionary Socialist, sympathetic with the popular demand for a juster division of the land in the interest of the agricultural masses. The ministry proceeded to give back to Finland her constitution, to promise self-government and unity to Poland, to endow the Jews with equal political, civil, and military rights. On March 31 it abolished the death penalty. A general amnesty was proclaimed and exiles in large numbers returned from Siberia and were greeted with frenzied enthusiasm. The public mood was optimistic and excited.

Revolutions once successful are difficult to arrest and have a way of passing rapidly through several stages, each more radical than its predecessor. The

Russian Revolution formed no exception to this rule, but rather illustrated it afresh. The period of reasoned liberalism, of rational and ordered reform did not last long. The Socialists entered aggressively upon the scene, organizing *soviets* or councils of workingmen and soldiers. These *soviets,* particularly the one in Petrograd, began to oppose the Provisional Government as much as they dared and to impose their views. In regard to the war the Lvoff ministry declared that free Russia did not aspire to dominate other countries or to get their territory, but that it would not allow its own country to come out of the war weakened or humiliated. On May 2 it announced to the Allies that Russia would continue in the war until a complete victory was achieved. The Petrograd Council or *Soviet,* on the other hand, was in favor of a general peace to be secured by the workers of all lands, and asserted that the war had been begun and was being carried on in the interest of kings and capitalists. The Council was powerful as representing the capital and was striving hard to dominate the Provisional Government. On May 16 Milyukoff, the able foreign minister, was forced out of the Government on the ground that he was an imperialist, as having expressed the hope that Russia would acquire Constantinople. A Socialist was appointed in his place and Kerensky now became minister of war. This reorganized ministry was against a separate peace.

Kerensky soon became the dominant personality in the Government. As minister of war he endeavored to check the demoralization which was mak-

ing serious inroads into the army. Discipline was disappearing, acts of disobedience, if not actual mutiny, were occurring at various points. Kerensky succeeded for a while in checking this alarming disorganization and even in arousing the army in Galicia to begin a new "drive" which made an advance of ten miles, only to be brought to a standstill by renewed mutinies, so that all that had been gained was lost (July, 1917).

On July 22, Kerensky became head of the Provisional Government and remained such until he and his colleagues were overthrown, on November 7, by the Bolsheviki of Petrograd. Kerensky was a Socialist and was strongly opposed to a separate peace with Germany, but was in favor of a revision of peace terms by the Allies in the direction of the formula, "no annexations, no indemnities." The breakdown of discipline in the army continued to increase portentously. During the retreat in Galicia, generals found that they were obliged to discuss their orders with numerous committees of soldiers, and to secure their consent, before those orders could be executed. Officers were in some cases shot by their soldiers. Large numbers of troops retreated without making any resistance, so thoroughly pacifistic had they become as a result of the Socialistic propaganda carried on among them. Kerensky publicly characterized these acts as shameful and labored incessantly and with extraordinary energy to stop the growing anarchy and to restore the army as a fighting force, necessary even for the defense of the country, for the country was again threatened. His efforts were unavailing and

conditions steadily grew worse. The Germans took the important city of Riga on September 2, with practically no opposition. The shame and impotence of a great state were being demonstrated every day anew.

That shame and that impotence were illustrated in perfection by the policy and conduct of the new rulers of Russia, the Bolsheviki, who succeeded in overthrowing Kerensky on November 7, and in seizing the government, under the leadership of Lenine and Trotzky. Several of the ministers were arrested, and army headquarters were captured. Kerensky managed to escape, and was not heard of again for several months, when he finally appeared in London. Lenine became prime minister and Trotzky minister of foreign affairs.

The new Government announced its policy at once: an immediate democratic peace, the confiscation of all landed property, the recognition of the supreme authority of the *soviets* or workingmen's and soldiers' councils, the election of a constitutional convention. The Bolsheviki revealed themselves adequately, though not completely, in these demands. They were extreme Socialists, resolved to effect a Socialistic revolution at once. They were unwilling to fight Germans or Austrians. They were willing to fight their own fellow-citizens for the purpose of robbing them of their property. They cared nothing about national honor. "Honor" was not a word in their vocabulary; it was only a conception of hypocritical capitalists interested solely in feathering their own nests and exploiting the downtrodden. The Bolsheviki

cared nothing for the good faith of Russia, for they wished and intended to desert Russia's allies and to make a separate peace with her enemies despite the fact that Russia had signed a treaty promising not to make a separate peace. Their moral standards were not above considering a treaty a scrap of paper, were not, therefore, superior to the standards of the Germans, in whose pay they were accused of being and probably were. As destroyers of a great nation, as artists in anarchy, as ruthless murderers of fellow-Russians, they were a great success.

It was evident that with such men in power Russia's participation in the war was over and that the burden imposed upon the Western Allies would be far greater than ever. The Bolsheviki immediately started peace negotiations with the Germans, concluding with them an armistice at Brest-Litovsk (December 15), where three months later they supinely signed what was probably the most disgraceful and disastrous treaty known in the history of any European nation.

The Russian Revolution and the rise of the Bolsheviki brought about the rapid disintegration, not only of the Russian people, but of the Russian state as a territorial entity. Finland declared its independence. The Ukraine, an immense region in the south, did the same. Siberia later followed suit. The Germans had control of Poland, Lithuania and the Baltic Provinces, and consequently declarations of independence were not in order there. General Kaledin, the leader of the Cossacks, declared war upon the Bolsheviki in the name of the safety of the country.

None of Russia's allies and none of the neutral states recognized the Bolsheviki as the lawful government of Russia. That honor was reserved for the Germans and Austrians and Turks.

In December the Constituent Assembly, called by the Bolsheviki, met in Petrograd. Not proving satisfactory to the latter at its first session, they sent a body of sailors into the chamber to disperse it. That ended the Constituent Assembly and gave a further illustration of the meaning of the Bolshevik formula about the self-determination of peoples.

The War in 1917

The revolution in Russia in its immediate effects and the intervention of the United States in its possible ultimate effects were the two most outstanding events in the history of 1917. But, also, during that year military events of importance occurred. The eastern front saw comparatively little activity as, after the Russian Revolution, the Germans were content to watch the development of affairs in that country and in the main merely to guard the positions they had gained in Russia and Roumania, probably in the expectation of shortly imposing peace upon those countries and then being able to withdraw their troops from them and throw them with decisive force upon the western front.

In the early months of 1917 the effects of the Battle of the Somme of the previous year were shown to be more important than had been supposed, for when the English and the French renewed their campaign in the same region they encountered a weak-

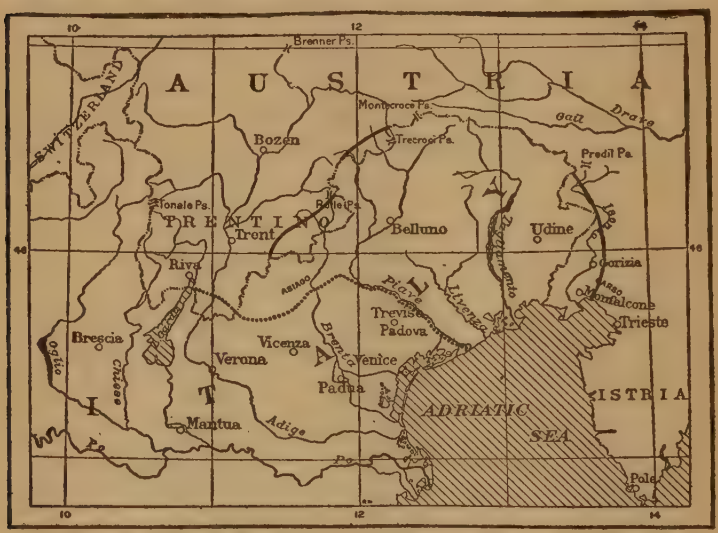
ened resistance, the enemy withdrawing before them. Then ensued, in March and April, a retreat of the Germans to the famous "Hindenburg Line," called by their leaders a "strategical retreat." The Germans retired along a hundred-mile front, from Arras to the neighborhood of Noyon, evacuating more than a thousand square miles of French territory which had formerly contained over three hundred towns and villages. But, compelled to abandon this territory, they committed deeds which added a new hideousness to the name of German. They devastated the country as no country in Europe had ever been devastated before, and they did it with scientific thoroughness and wanton satisfaction. France recovered only a scene of indescribable desolation. Buildings, public and private, schools and churches, works of art, historical monuments and priceless historical records were ruthlessly destroyed; private homes were stripped clean of furniture which was carted away by the Germans, wells were filled with dung, orchards were cut down, roads and bridges and railways were blown up. If they must retire the Germans were resolved to leave a region, hitherto one of the most fertile in France, ruined and blasted for years and even for decades to come. An eye-witness wrote as follows: "With field glasses I could see far on either side of every road for miles and miles; every farm is burned, fields destroyed, every garden and every bush uprooted, every tree sawed off close to the bottom. It was a terrible sight and seemed almost worse than the destruction of men. Those thousands of trees prone upon the earth, their branches waving in

the wind, seemed undergoing agonies before our eyes."

Other events on the western front in 1917 were: the battle of Arras, fought by the British, from April to June, and in the course of which the Canadians distinguished themselves at Vimy Ridge; the long-drawn-out Battle of the Aisne, fought by the French from April to November, famous for the fighting about the *Chemin des Dames;* the British offensive in Flanders, from July to December, which yielded Passchendaele Ridge and other positions, the battle of Cambrai, in November and December, in which the Germans were compelled to retire several miles on a front of twenty miles.

But while on the French front the Allies made considerable gains, in another region they sustained a serious reverse, in Italy. The Italians had seized Gorizia in 1916 and in the summer of 1917 they carried on a very successful offensive along the Isonzo and the Carso Plateau. But with the breakdown of Russia and the spread of pacifism in the Russian armies the Germans were able to send large bodies of troops and a great quantity of heavy artillery to the aid of their ally, Austria. On October 28, 1917, the Austro-German army seized Gorizia; on the 30th Udine fell; a rapid retreat of the Italians followed to the Tagliamento. The Germans announced that they had captured 180,000 prisoners and 1,500 guns. The Tagliamento could not be held and the Italians were driven back to the Piave. For days the Allied world held its breath, fearing that what had happened to Serbia in 1915, to Roumania in 1916, was now in 1917

to happen to Italy, and that she would be conquered and eliminated from the war. But the Piave held and the attempts of the Central Powers to outflank it in the mountains to the north of Venetia, along the Asiago Plateau and other ridges, failed. There the invasion was halted. French and English troops were rushed to the aid of Italy and their arrival greatly



helped and encouraged the Italians. But the world had had a bad shock and was apprehensive still, lest the Italian line should be broken. The Germans announced that the campaign had netted them 300,000 prisoners and nearly 3,000 guns. Whether this was true or not, certain it was that they had freed Austria of the enemy and that they now themselves occupied four thousand square miles of Italian territory

and that they were in a position to threaten the richest section of Italy, which contained, among other things, the great munition plants.

The Allied gains on the western front and those in Asia, which will be referred to later, were but a slight comfort in view of the Russian and Italian disasters. The year ended in gloom in the Allied camp. But there was at least some satisfaction to be derived from the fact that Venice had not been taken, and that that matchless creation of art had not been destroyed by the barbarism of the enemy as had the incomparable cathedral of Rheims, the masterpiece of Gothic architecture, the living embodiment of French history, whose every stone spoke of long lines of kings—and of Joan of Arc.

The year 1917, therefore, closed in gloom. The collapse of Russia, the disaster in Italy, were more alarming in their possible, if not probable, consequences than the scattered and costly gains of the Allies on the western front and the entrance of America into the war, perhaps too late to be of any material value, were reassuring. In western Asia, it is true, the year brought some encouragement to the Allies, but how durable or significant the successes there would prove to be it was quite impossible to forecast. As the Germans had loudly proclaimed their intention to link Berlin with Bagdad, and erect a Middle Europe, and to extend it through Turkey and the great valleys of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and as this meant nothing less than a pointed threat at the British Empire in India and Egypt, it was natural and inevitable that England should accept the German challenge in that

THE "MIDDLE EUROPE" SCHEME

part of the world as she had accepted it in western Europe and on the high seas. Consequently as early as 1915 an expedition had been sent out from India, under General Townshend, to prevent the consummation of the German plans. But the expedition failed disastrously. After having advanced two hundred miles up the Tigris and after having seized the city of Kut-el-Amara, General Townshend found himself besieged in that place by the Turks and after a few months, no relief having reached him, he was forced to surrender with his entire army, about ten thousand men, on April 28, 1916, after a siege of a hundred and forty-three days. Not only was this a serious reverse in itself, but it gravely injured Great Britain's prestige in the East. There was nothing for her to do but endeavor to repair the damage done. She at once organized another expedition on a larger scale and with more careful preparation, which she sent into Mesopotamia under General Maude, early in 1917. This expedition was successful. Kut-el-Amara was recaptured on February 24 and on March 11 the British entered Bagdad in triumph. Bagdad was not of great strategic importance, but its capture exercised a decided moral effect throughout the world.

Toward the close of the year the British achieved other victories over the Turks, farther west, in Palestine. During the earlier years of the war the Turks had seriously menaced England's control of the Suez Canal and Egypt. The English resolved to eliminate this danger once for all by sending an army into Palestine, under General Allenby. This army gradually forced its way northward, captured Jaffa, the

seaport of Jerusalem, in November, and entered Jerusalem itself in triumph on December 10, 1917. Great was the rejoicing throughout the Christian world at this recovery of its sacred city after seven centuries of Mohammedan control. The achievement of the mediaeval Crusaders was being repeated. Would the new victory of the Christian over the Infidel prove ephemeral, as had the earlier one?

The Germans were not downcast over the turn of events in these remote theaters of war. Nor had they any reason to be. On the whole, they were holding the western front, and the eastern front had disappeared under the terrific blows they had delivered to Russia and which had laid her low. On the 22d of December the German Emperor was undoubtedly expressing the prevalent German opinion of the general situation when he said to the army in France: "The year 1917 with its great battles has proved that the German people has, in the Lord of Creation above, an unconditional and avowed ally on whom it can absolutely depend. . . . If the enemy does not want peace, then we must bring peace to the world by battering in with the iron fist and shining sword the doors of those who will not have peace. . . . But our enemies still hope, with the assistance of new allies, to defeat you and then to destroy forever the world position won by Germany in hard endeavor. They will not succeed. Trusting in our righteous cause and in our strength, we face the year 1918 with firm confidence and iron will. Therefore, forward with God to fresh deeds and fresh victories!"

The first of the fresh victories were to be achieved

on the diplomatic field and were to be supremely satisfactory to the Germans. They consisted in the treaties of peace imposed by them upon Russia and Roumania, and upon the big fragments of former Russia which had declared their independence, rather than remain connected with a country controlled by the Bolsheviki, namely, the Ukraine and Finland.

The Bolsheviki demanded immediate peace and when they succeeded in driving Kerensky from power, and themselves assumed control, they began negotiations to that end. They signed an armistice at Brest-Litovsk, the German army headquarters, on December 15, 1917. The leading personages in the ensuing discussions were Kühlmann for Germany, Czernin for Austria-Hungary, and Trotzky for Russia. The negotiations were long and frequently stormy. Trotzky urged that the peace be based upon the principles of "no annexations, no indemnities." The Central Powers pretended to accept this formula. Their insincerity and duplicity in announcing their adhesion to this principle and to that of the right of peoples to determine their own allegiance were shortly made apparent. They refused to withdraw their troops from the occupied parts of Russia and they indicated clearly that their aims were the opposite of their professions. At this Trotzky balked and withdrew from the conference and the Russian Government announced that it would not sign "an annexationist treaty," but at the same time it announced that the war was at an end and it ordered the complete demobilization of the Russian troops on all fronts.

Germany, however, refused to accept this solution

of "no war, but no peace." It insisted on a treaty in black and white. As the negotiations had been broken off by the departure of the Russian delegates on February 10, the German army immediately assumed the offensive and began a fresh invasion of Russia, advancing on a front of five hundred miles and to within seventy miles of Petrograd. This speedily brought the Russians to terms and they signed on March 3, 1918, the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the most notorious "annexationist treaty" on record. Its principal provisions were: Russia surrendered all claims to Poland, Lithuania, Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia; she also renounced all claims to Finland and the Ukraine and agreed to recognize their independence and to make peace with them; she surrendered Batum, Erivan, and Kars in the Caucasus to Turkey, and she promised to cease all revolutionary propaganda in the ceded regions and in the countries of the Central Alliance.

Subsequently and in direct violation of the plain intent of one of the articles of the treaty, the promise of a large money indemnity was exacted from Russia.

By this treaty Russia lost an enormous territory, about half a million square miles, a territory more than twice as large as the German Empire. She lost a population of about 65,000,000, which was about that of the German Empire. A year or less of Bolshevism had sufficed to undo the work of all the Russian Emperors from Peter the Great to Nicholas II. So complete a mutilation of a great country Europe had never seen. Russia was thrust back into the condition in which she had been in the seventeenth cen-

SWEDEN
Gulf of Bothnia
FINLAND
Kuopio
Lake Onega
Petrozavodsk
Bjorneborg
Abo
Helsingfors
Lake Ladoga
Viborg
Stockholm
Gulf of Finland
Petrograd
Dago
Reval
ESTHONIA
Oesel
LIVONIA
Pskov
Yaroslavl
Tver
Vladimir
Riga
Libau
COURLAND
Moscow
Kovno
Vitebsk
Smolensk
Kaluga
Danzig
Königsberg
GERMANY
Vilna
RUSSIA
Minsk
Mogilev
Grodno
Dunaburg
Orel
Warsaw
POLAND
Brest-Litovsk
Kursk
Voronesh
Radom
Chernigov
Kiev
Kharkov
DON COSSACKS
Cracow
Zhitomir
Poltava
Lemberg
Kamenetz Podolsk
UKRAINE
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY
Rostov
Jassy
Kishinev
Kherson
Bessarabia
Odessa
Ekaterinodar
Novorossisk
SERVIA
RUMANIA
Bucharest
Sevastopol
Dobrudja
BLACK SEA
BULGARIA
Kastamuni
TURKEY IN ASIA
TREATY OF BREST-LITOVSK
1918
SHOWING TERRITORY SURRENDERED BY RUSSIA
Scale of Miles
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tury and which even then was found intolerable. Never in modern times has a great power surrendered such vast territories by a single stroke of the pen. Pacifism and internationalism had borne their natural fruit with unexpected swiftness. Gorky, the Russian novelist, and considered a radical until the Bolsheviki appeared and gave a new extension to that word, has estimated that this treaty robbed Russia of 37 per cent of her manufacturing industries, 75 per cent of her coal, and 73 per cent of her iron.

What the future of the ceded territories should be was not indicated beyond the statement that "Germany and Austria-Hungary intend to decide the future fate of these territories by agreement with their population." A few weeks later the Central Powers dictated a pitiless treaty to Roumania, forcing large cessions of territory and minutely and ingeniously squeezing her of her economic resources for their advantage.

The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk laid bare the soul of modern Germany. It proved to all the world that, whatever her professions might be, her greed was unabashed and unrestrained. And this greed was characteristic not simply of her rulers, military and civil. All Germany applauded. The same Reichstag which in July, 1917, had voted in favor of the principle of "no annexations, no indemnities," now enthusiastically ratified the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, the Socialists joining in. The rest of the world now knew, if it had not known before, what it might expect, if it was force to pass under the same yoke. Germany stood

completely unmasked. Her ideal was revealed in all its nakedness.

Having arranged matters in the east to her satisfaction, and no longer threatened or preoccupied in that quarter, Germany now turned practically her entire attention to the western front, confident that, by concentrated energy of attack, she could at last conquer there and snatch the victory which had so long eluded her and which would end the war. Transferring thither her large eastern armies, she was confident that now she could compel a decision and could force a settlement to her taste. One more campaign in France and all would be well. The spring drive was to be begun early, the intention being to separate the French and English armies, and then defeat each in turn swiftly—before the Americans should arrive in any such numbers as to be able to influence the course of events.

The War in 1918

The drive opened on March 21, 1918. The mood in which it was begun was expressed by the Kaiser the day before: "The prize of victory," said he, "must not and will not fail us. No soft peace, but one corresponding to Germany's interests." A month later the German financial secretary added an appendant to this imperial thought when he said in the Reichstag on April 23: "We do not yet know the amount of the indemnity which we shall win."

This great offensive, the greatest of the war, opened auspiciously and for three months proceeded accord-

ing to the heart's desire. It was ushered in by the greatest gas attack Europe had ever known; also by a long-distance bombardment of Paris by a new gun of greater range than any previous gun had possessed. The ensuing attack was one of terrific force and was designed to spring the French and English armies apart at their point of juncture. The objective was Amiens. As a matter of fact, the English left was, in the next few days, driven back toward Arras and the English center driven beyond the Somme. This actually made an opening. The English front was broken and a great disaster might have easily resulted, for the Germans now tried to turn the English right by cavalry. They were, however, met and checked by French cavalry just in the nick of time. But between March 21 and March 28 the Germans made great progress. Town after town fell into their hands, Péronne, Bapaume, Ham, Albert, Noyon, Montdidier. It was at this critical moment that General Pershing placed all the forces under his command absolutely at the disposal of Marshal Foch to be used as he might see fit. Foch, so great was the danger, the greatest since the Battle of the Marne, had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies on the Western Front on March 28. At last the Allies had achieved unity of command.

After a slight pause the Germans attacked the English in the north, in Flanders at the point where their army and the Portuguese were joined. By April 12 the English had been forced to make a considerable retreat. It was then that General Haig issued a special order to his men which would have discour-

aged and demoralized men less self-reliant and less fond of the blunt truth, however unpleasant. This utterance of the English commander will remain historic:

"Three weeks ago to-day the enemy began his terrific attacks against us on a fifty-mile front. His objects are to separate us from the French, to take the Channel ports, and to destroy the British Army. . . . Words fail me to express the admiration which I feel for the splendid resistance offered by all ranks of our army under the most trying circumstances.

"Many among us are now tired. To those I would say that victory will belong to the side which holds out the longest. The French Army is moving rapidly and in great force to our support. There is no other course open to us but to fight it out.

"Every position must be held to the last man. There must be no retirement. With our backs to the wall, and believing in the justice of our cause, each one of us must fight to the end. The safety of our homes and the freedom of mankind depend alike upon the conduct of each one of us at this critical moment."

The bitterest fighting continued and the British lost important positions near Ypres, the famous Messines and Wytschaete ridges, and then Mount Kemmel. But French reinforcements came and the Germans were checked. Ypres still held out.

The Germans had suffered very severe losses in making these attacks and gains. They needed time to reorganize their exhausted divisions. Apparently, too, there was a change at this moment in their high

command, Ludendorff succeeding Hindenburg. Suddenly, on May 27, Ludendorff launched a new attack in an unexpected quarter on a forty-mile front, from Soissons to Rheims. On the 29th Soissons fell. The Germans advanced rapidly. By May 31 they were at the Marne once more after four years. In four days they had taken 45,000 prisoners and an enormous amount of war material. They were held at Château-Thierry on June 2 by French reserves which were rushed to the scene. The Germans were within forty miles of Paris and had gained nearly a thousand square miles of territory.

The Americans were beginning to count. On May 28 they captured Cantigny and two hundred and twenty-five prisoners. Later they helped the French check the Germans at Château-Thierry. They also foiled an attack in Neuilly Wood, advanced two-thirds of a mile and took two hundred and seventy prisoners. On June 6 and 7 the Marines advanced two miles on a front of six and seized Torcy and Bouresches. Later they occupied a part of Belleau Wood. These were details, but useful and auspicious.

On June 9 the Germans made an attack on a front of twenty miles from Montdidier to Noyon, pressing the French center back several miles, but at great cost. Then came a lull.

On July 15 they began their fifth and final drive in this remarkably successful campaign. Attacking on a sixty-mile front east and west of Rheims, they pushed forward, crossed the Marne at several points, and were evidently aiming at Châlons. They seized Château-Thierry.

From March 21 to July 18, 1918, the Germans had carried on a colossal offensive and had taken many prisoners, much territory, and enormous booty. They were astride the rivers that lead down to Paris, itself not far away. Might not one or two more pushes give them the coveted capital of France and seal the doom of the Allied cause? Elated by four months of victories, which had brought them nearer and nearer the intended prey, inflamed by visions of imminent and unparalleled success, they were eager for the final spring. Then all would be over and a peace could be imposed upon the West similar to that imposed upon the East at Brest-Litovsk. The world would recognize its master, would be reshaped according to Hohenzollern ideas, and would henceforth receive its marching orders from Berlin.

Not many graver moments, if any, have ever occurred in history. The world stood gripped by an intensity of anxiety and apprehension painful, heart-sinking, intolerable. Particularly in America did a great and desolating wave of dread and foreboding sweep over the public mind. Minutes seemed like hours and hours like weeks, so racking was the suspense. Had we arrived too late? We had been so slow in seeing our duty, in recognizing our responsibility in the desperate drama of our times, we had finally entered the war so unprepared, that it seemed only too likely that we were to pay, and that the world was to pay, a grievous price for our tardy perception and decision. And would that price include, for us, not only national insecurity, but national dishonor and disgrace? The answer to these questions

hung upon events, and events thus far had not been reassuring, had, on the contrary, seemed to be converging toward disaster.

We had done much in material ways for the common cause since our entrance into the war. Our navy, efficient and ready, had begun, from the first day, to render useful and important services. By the close of 1917 we had less than 200,000 men in France. How many of these were prepared for front-line work it is impossible to say. But certainly they were far too few for the emergency. On March 27 Lloyd-George, the British prime minister, made an urgent appeal for "American reinforcements in the shortest possible space of time" and declared that "we are at the crisis of the war, attacked by an immense superiority of German troops." The appeal was answered. From then on there was a rapid and increasing movement of American troops to Europe, 83,000 in March, 117,000 in April, 244,000 in May, 278,000 in June, and by the end of July there were 1,300,000 American soldiers in France. By November there were more than two million.

So desperate was the situation in midsummer, 1918, that the French Government was prepared at any moment to leave Paris, as it had done in 1914.

But this moment was never to come. For Marshal Foch now struck a blow which freed Paris from danger, and which inaugurated a new and, as we now see, the final phase of the war. On July 18 he assumed the offensive, attacking the enemy on the flank from Château-Thierry on the Marne to the River Aisne. With French and American troops he

took the Germans by surprise, and achieved a brilliant success. His entire line advanced from four to six miles, reclaiming twenty villages. Thousands of prisoners were taken, the Americans alone capturing over four thousand. A large number of guns were also seized. On the following days, the counter-offensive continued. Each day it achieved successes; each day it gained additional momentum. The Allied world passed through a new experience. An uninterrupted series of triumphs for the armies of Marshal Foch filled the days and then the weeks, after he had seized the initiative on July 18.

By July 21 the Germans, threatened on the flank, were forced to withdraw the troops which had crossed the Marne. The Second Battle of the Marne was over and took its place in history, alongside the First Battle of the Marne, having accomplished the same deliverance of Paris and having begun the deliverance of France. In that battle Americans had taken an important part, although it should not be exaggerated. Seventy per cent of the troops participating in it were French. Forced to recross the Marne, the Germans next took their stand on the River Vesle. Bitter fighting occurred there. Again they were compelled to retreat, and their next stand was at the Aisne. Week after week their backward movement continued, stubbornly yet unsuccessfully contested. Foch's counter-offensive widened out far to the east of Rheims, far to the north of Soissons. Between the Argonne Forest and the River Meuse the main American army, entrusted with a formidable and difficult task, fought desperately day after day, pushing

steadily but slowly and at great cost farther and farther north. West of the Argonne the French were driving the Germans back.

At the same time, the French and the British, with contingents of the other Allies, Italians, Belgians, Portuguese, Americans, interspersed, were attacking various points in the long line from Soissons to the English Channel. All these scattered attacks, carefully coördinated, were but parts of a comprehensive plan elaborated by Marshal Foch, who was now revealing himself to the world as the master-intellect of the war. One does not know which to admire the more, the incomparable conception of this campaign or the marvelous execution. Unremitting pressure everywhere, damaging thrusts here and there, such was the evident policy, the purpose being to maintain in Allied hands the initiative and the offensive which had been seized on the fateful July 18. Without haste, without rest, all through August and September and October, the gigantic assault continued. The Allies steadily advanced as victors over ground which a short time before they had been compelled to abandon. Verdun was freed from the German menace, so was Rheims, so was Ypres. It would be impossible in any brief space, or, indeed, at length, even to catalogue the long list of incidents and events, in themselves often of great importance and interest, in this vast and complicated movement. Many towns and villages, some of them in possession of the Germans since 1914, were recovered. All that the Germans had won in their drive from March 21 to July 18 was lost, and the Allies then pressed on to con-

quer the rest of the territory of France, held so long by the Germans, to smash their retreating lines, wherever established, and to hurl them out of France and out of Belgium.

One detail of importance and of great interest to Americans in this general campaign was the elimination of the St. Mihiel salient by Pershing's troops on September 12-13.

By the end of September, after paying a heavy price for their retreat, the Germans were back on the famous Hindenburg Line, an intricate and powerful system of defenses which they had for years been building. Here they planned to hold, and then to institute an aggressive peace propaganda among the nations supposed to be tired of war. The only way to block this purpose was to smash the Hindenburg Line and to compel the enemy to hurry on incessantly toward Germany. Could this be done?

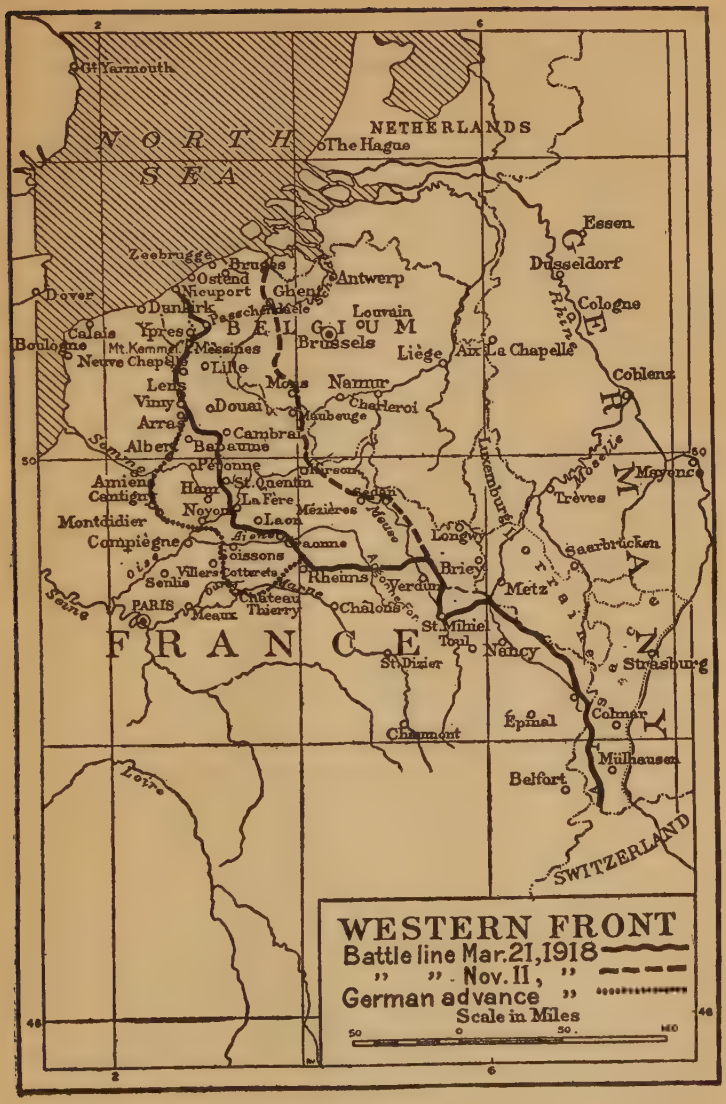
The Battle of the Hindenburg Line will perhaps rank in history as the decisive battle of the Great War, as momentous as the "Battle of the Nations" at Leipsic in 1813, which foreshadowed the doom of the Napoleonic Empire. In each case the arrogant dream of world power was summarily dissipated. As, after Leipsic, France had been invaded, so, after the Battle of the Hindenburg Line, the invasion of Germany seemed possible and likely. Napoleon, in a few months, had been compelled to abdicate. Might history repeat itself, after an interval of a hundred and five years? The climax of the four years' war was rapidly approaching.

The battle opened on September 26, with attacks

on the two widely separated flanks. On that day the first American Army under General Liggett, in conjunction with a French army under Gouraud, moved against the Germans on the German left. The Americans fought between the Argonne Forest and the Meuse and at first advanced swiftly, taking many villages. Gouraud on the other side of the Argonne pushed forward. The Franco-America drive was not halted, but rendered slower when German reserves were rushed to the scene.

Meanwhile Belgian and British troops had attacked the German right flank far to the north in Belgium and had been successful in driving a wedge between the Germans on the Belgian coast and those in the region of Lille. Again reserves were rushed by Ludendorff to meet this danger. But neither here in Flanders nor at the other extremity in the Argonne was the Allied pressure relaxed.

Finally Foch was ready for his chief blow. On October 8 he attacked the enemy, anxious about both flanks, in the center. The attack was made between Cambrai and St. Quentin by three British armies under Byng, Rawlinson and Horne, aided by the French under Debeney. Here the British achieved perhaps the greatest victory in their history. Hope, repeatedly deferred, was realized at last. In three days the British drove straight through the Hindenburg Line on a front of twelve miles, and where it was strongest, and then pushed on into the open country. That boasted defense was no longer invincible. St. Quentin fell and so, shortly, did Cambrai.


WESTERN FRONT
Battle line Mar. 21, 1918
" " Nov. 11, "
German advance "
Scale in Miles
50 0 50 100
NORTH SEA
NETHERLANDS
The Hague
Gt Yarmouth
Zeebrugge
Bruges
Ostend
Nieuport
Ghent
Antwerp
Dover
Dunkirk
Passchendaele
Louvain
Calais
Ypres
BELGIUM
Boulogne
Mt. Kemmel
Messines
Brussels
Neuve Chapelle
Lille
Liège
Aix La Chapelle
Lens
Mons
Namur
Vimy
Douai
Charleroi
Arras
Maubeuge
Cambrai
Albert
Bapaume
Somme
Péronne
Kirson
Amiens
St. Quentin
Cantigny
Ham
La Fère
Sedan
Noyon
Mézières
Montdidier
Laon
Meuse
Compiègne
Ayenne
Vaonne
Soissons
Oise
Villers Cotterets
Senlis
Rheims
Verdun
Marne
Seine
PARIS
Meaux
Château Thierry
Châlons
Ancre
St. Mihiel
Toul
Nancy
St. Dizier
FRANCE
Chaumont
Loire
Essen
Dusseldorf
Cologne
Rhine
GERMANY
Coblenz
Luxemburg
Moselle
Mayence
Trèves
Longwy
Saarbrücken
Briey
Metz
Strasburg
Colmar
Épinal
Mülhausen
Belfort
SWITZERLAND
2
6
50
48

The consequences of this breaking of the Hindenburg Line were enormous. The British pushed on toward Valenciennes. Activity was redoubled along the two flanks and soon advances were made pretty much along the whole line from the English Channel to Verdun. It was a wonderful coöperative movement, with glory enough for all the Allies, and to spare. Laon, a tremendous stronghold, was soon evacuated. By October 16 the Germans had had to give up the Belgian coast, Ostend, Zeebrugge. Then Lille, Roubaix, and Turcoing were evacuated. In three weeks an amazing victory had been won over positions selected and long prepared by the Germans themselves. The Americans pushed steadily down the Meuse. After October 16 it was merely a question of time when the Germans would inevitably be driven back into their own country. Each subsequent day continued the tale of territory recovered, of towns captured, of a growing demoralization of the German army. The greatest battle of the war had been decisively won. It only remained to gather in the harvest. The superiority of French military science over German military science was established, and the name of Marshal Foch took its place among the greatest names of military history.

Meanwhile in other theaters of this far-flung war momentous events were occurring, contributing powerfully to the gathering culmination. From every front and with each new day came news of victories so astounding and so decisive and attended with consequences so immediate and far-reaching that it was evident that the hour of supreme triumph was rapidly

approaching, that a terrible chapter in the history of humanity was drawing to a close.

From Palestine came the news that Allenby, who had taken Jerusalem in December, 1917, was on the go again. With an army of 125,000 men, among whom was a small French contingent, he carried out a brilliant campaign against the Turks. Beginning in the middle of September, and making a rapid and consummate use of cavalry, he was able to get around them and in their rear, enveloping them, and delivering a staggering blow in the plains of Samaria. In the course of a few days, Allenby captured 70,000 prisoners and 700 guns and practically all the supplies of the Turkish army. Following up this victory he pushed up to Damascus, which he entered on October 1, 1918, taking 7,000 prisoners. On October 6 a French squadron seized Beirut, the chief seaport of Syria. Then began a rapid drive toward Aleppo, the object being to cut the Bagdad railway and thus isolate the Turks who were fighting in Mesopotamia. On October 15 Homs, halfway between Damascus and Aleppo, fell, and also the port of Tripoli on the coast. A few days later Aleppo was taken. The fate of Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and Arabia was decided. Those regions, which for centuries had been under the blight of Turkish rule, were now freed. The Turkish Empire in that quarter of the world was a thing of the past. Also the dream of a German road from Berlin to Bagdad was now shattered.

And while the Turkish Empire was being amputated in the East, it was being effectively isolated in the West. Bulgaria, which borders Turkey in

Europe, was being eliminated from the war. Almost at the very time that Allenby began his attack in Samaria, Franchet d'Esperey, a hero of the First Battle of the Marne, and now commander of the Allied army in the Balkans, an army consisting of French, British, Greek, Serbian, and Italian troops, attacked the Bulgarians between the Vardar and the Cerna Rivers, and broke their lines in two, rendering their position highly critical. Ten days later, on September 29, Bulgaria signed an armistice which meant nothing less than unconditional surrender. She agreed to evacuate all the Greek and Serbian territory which she had occupied, to demobilize her army, to permit the Allied troops to use any strategic points in Bulgaria they might wish to, as well as all means of communication. Bulgaria was thus out of the war. The Berlin-Bagdad dream was twice dead. Railroad communication between Turkey and Germany was cut. The grandiose German plan of a Middle-Europe, of which the world had heard so much, was rapidly being shoved into the lumber-room of damaged and discarded gimcracks. Turkey was verging swiftly toward her fate. Serbia was quickly reconquered by the Serbians and for the Serbians, and it could only be a question of a short time before Roumania would be able to rise again and denounce the infamous Treaty of Bucharest which Germany and Austria-Hungary had imposed upon her less than five months before, on May 7, 1918, a treaty which had practically robbed her of her independence, both economic and political.

It was a matter of detail, though pleasing in itself,

when on October 3 the self-styled Czar of Bulgaria, Ferdinand, who had ruled for thirty-one years, abdicated in favor of his son, Crown Prince Boris, twenty-four years of age. Ferdinand was the second of the Balkan kings to lose his throne as a result of his conduct in the world war, Constantine of Greece having preceded him into exile in June, 1917. The new King Boris was destined to rule one month only, when a popular revolution on November 1 overturned the throne and drove him from the land. The Czardom of Bulgaria became a republic.

While such shattering events were occurring in the East, in the Balkans and in France, the war flamed up once more in Italy. It was in October, 1917, that Italy had suffered her great and dangerous reverse. It was then that she was thrown out of Austria, across the Isonzo, and that she herself was invaded as far as the Piave. She had experienced colossal losses in men and in equipment. A year from that date, October, 1918, restored in morale and reinvigorated in every way, Italy assumed the offensive against the Austrians. Her attack was successful from the start and in the succeeding days grew portentously until she achieved an amazing triumph which largely effaced the memories of the previous year. The hostile line was broken and the Austrians were compelled to withdraw pell-mell toward their own country. It was a rout and resulted in the loss of hundreds of thousands of prisoners and thousands of big guns.

The atmosphere was clearing rapidly owing to these decisive events. Both Turkey and Austria were ready to quit the war. Both asked an armistice. On Octo-

ber 31 the Allied Powers granted an armistice to Turkey on terms that amounted to unconditional surrender. The Dardanelles and the Bosporus were to be freely opened to the Allies, who might also occupy the forts that protected them. Access to the Black Sea was thus guaranteed. The Turkish army was to be immediately demobilized. The Allies were to have the right to occupy any strategic points they might desire or need to. Other terms completed the defeat of Turkey and registered her exit from the war.

The armistice granted Austria on November 4 contained similar conditions and also conditions even more severe. The Austro-Hungarian armies must be demobilized and must relinquish to the Allies and the United States a large part of their equipment. Austria must evacuate all territories occupied since the beginning of the war. Practically, too, she must give up the Trentino, Trieste, Istria, and a part of the Dalmatian coast. All military and railway equipment must be left where it was and be at the disposal of the Allies. All German troops must be evacuated from Austria within fifteen days. All Allied prisoners held by Austria must be immediately restored to the Allies. A large part of the Austrian navy must be handed over. Several other provisions only emphasized in detail Austria's complete defeat.

Meanwhile Austria-Hungary was in rapid process of disintegration. Every dispatch brought news of popular outbreaks from all parts of the Dual Monarchy. The Czecho-Slovaks declared their independence, dethroned the monarch, and proclaimed a re-

public. Hungary declared her independence and apparently prepared to become a republic. It was rumored that Emperor Karl had fled, had abdicated, had been deposed. The truth was hard to discover, reports being so fragmentary and conflicting. Vienna evidently fell into the hands of the revolutionists and socialists and the German sections of Austria were said to have likewise declared their independence. The ancient empire was breaking up and several new states were rapidly evolving. Nationalistic, democratic, and socialistic forces were struggling for recognition and control. What the ultimate outcome would be no man could tell. The very winds had been let loose. Whether the House of Hapsburg still existed was uncertain. That it was doomed to vanish completely, and that, too, very soon, seemed assured, if indeed it had not already vanished. No one knew what the next day or hour would bring forth in this maelstrom of fermentation, in this confusion worse confounded.

The curtain was rapidly descending, the fifth act of the fearful tragedy of our times was closing with unexpected abruptness. Bulgaria, Turkey, and Austria-Hungary were out of the war. There remained the German Empire. Deserted by her allies, and herself being rapidly driven from France and Belgium, and with the invasion of her own country not only probable but actually impending, what would this arch-conspirator of the age, this "natural foe to liberty" at home and everywhere, what would she do, what could she do, in a world so strangely altered since Brest-Litovsk, since Château-Thierry? The

handwriting on the wall was becoming larger and more legible and more terrifying. The evil days were drawing nigh for a dread accounting. What could the proud and mighty German Empire do?

What she did was to make a frantic effort for peace, appealing to President Wilson to bring about a peace conference, pretending to accept the various terms he had indicated in his speeches of the year as a proper basis for the new age, reforming her government rapidly in order to meet the more obvious criticisms which foreigners had made against it as autocratic and militaristic. The outcome of these maneuvers was the elaboration by the Allies and the United States at Versailles of the terms on which they would grant an armistice. These terms were to be communicated by Marshal Foch to such a delegation as the German Government should send to receive them at a place to be indicated by the Generalissimo. On Friday morning, November 8, Marshal Foch received the German armistice delegation in a railroad car at Senlis in France and read to them the terms agreed upon for a cessation of hostilities. They were allowed seventy-two hours in which to consult their superiors and in which to sign or reject the armistice.

Meanwhile revolution had begun in Germany. On Thursday, November 7, mutiny broke out at Kiel. Several of the German warships were seized by the mutineers and the red flag was hoisted over them. On that and succeeding days similar movements occurred in various cities and states, and revolutionary governments, local or regional, generally headed by socialists, were announced from various localities, with what

exactness we cannot tell, from Hamburg, Bremen, Tilsit, Chemnitz, Stuttgart, Brunswick, Bavaria, finally from Berlin. Reports circulated like wild-fire that reigning princes were abdicating or being dethroned, that workmen's and soldiers' councils or soviets were being formed in various centers and were seizing power. Demands were being made that the Kaiser abdicate. There were all the phenomena of a breaking up of the great deep. German society was being torn by alarming dissensions the practical unanimity of the past four years was pounding to pieces upon the jagged reefs of defeat, and defeat with discredit and dishonor. An hour of fearful retribution had struck. There was dismay and disarray in the public mind, vacillation and poverty of counsel among the military and political leaders of the land. Moral bankruptcy, as well as material, stared the German nation in the face, that nation which had been a unit in war as long as war offered chances for aggrandizement and loot. Socialists, with the exception of a paltry few, had worked hand in glove with militarists and Pan-Germans and the assorted hosts of embattled adventurers and soldiers of fortune; they had done this for four years, the easy tools of autocracy and egregious militarism. But now this band of international plunderers was falling apart. Each was seeking safety as he might from the fast approaching storm.

On Saturday, November 9, a wireless message picked up by Paris and by London announced, to the stupefaction of the world, that the Emperor of Germany, William II, had abdicated, and that his son, the Crown Prince Frederick William, had renounced

his rights to the throne, that a socialist, Ebert, had been made Chancellor, and that a German National Assembly would be speedily elected by universal suffrage and that that Assembly would "settle finally the future form of government of the German nation and of those peoples which might be desirous of coming within the empire."

On the following day, Sunday, the world heard that the revolution was still spreading, that Cologne cathedral was flying a red flag, that Hanover, Oldenberg, Magdeburg, Saxony, and other towns and states were seething with rebellion.

On Monday, November 11, 1918, Americans awoke to the screeching of whistles and the din of bells which signified that the armistice terms had been accepted by the German Government and that "the war was over," hostilities to cease at 11 o'clock that morning, Paris time. Rushing for their morning papers, they ascertained this further fact that William II, Emperor of Germany, who for thirty years had been the most powerful monarch in the world, had fled for refuge in an automobile to Holland. Thus the Last of the Hohenzollerns made his sorry exit from the scene, having plunged the world into turmoil and tribulation indescribable, the memory of which would haunt mankind with nameless horror for decades to come, the heartless, crushing cost of which would afflict and sadden generations yet unborn.

The evil that men do lives after them.

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